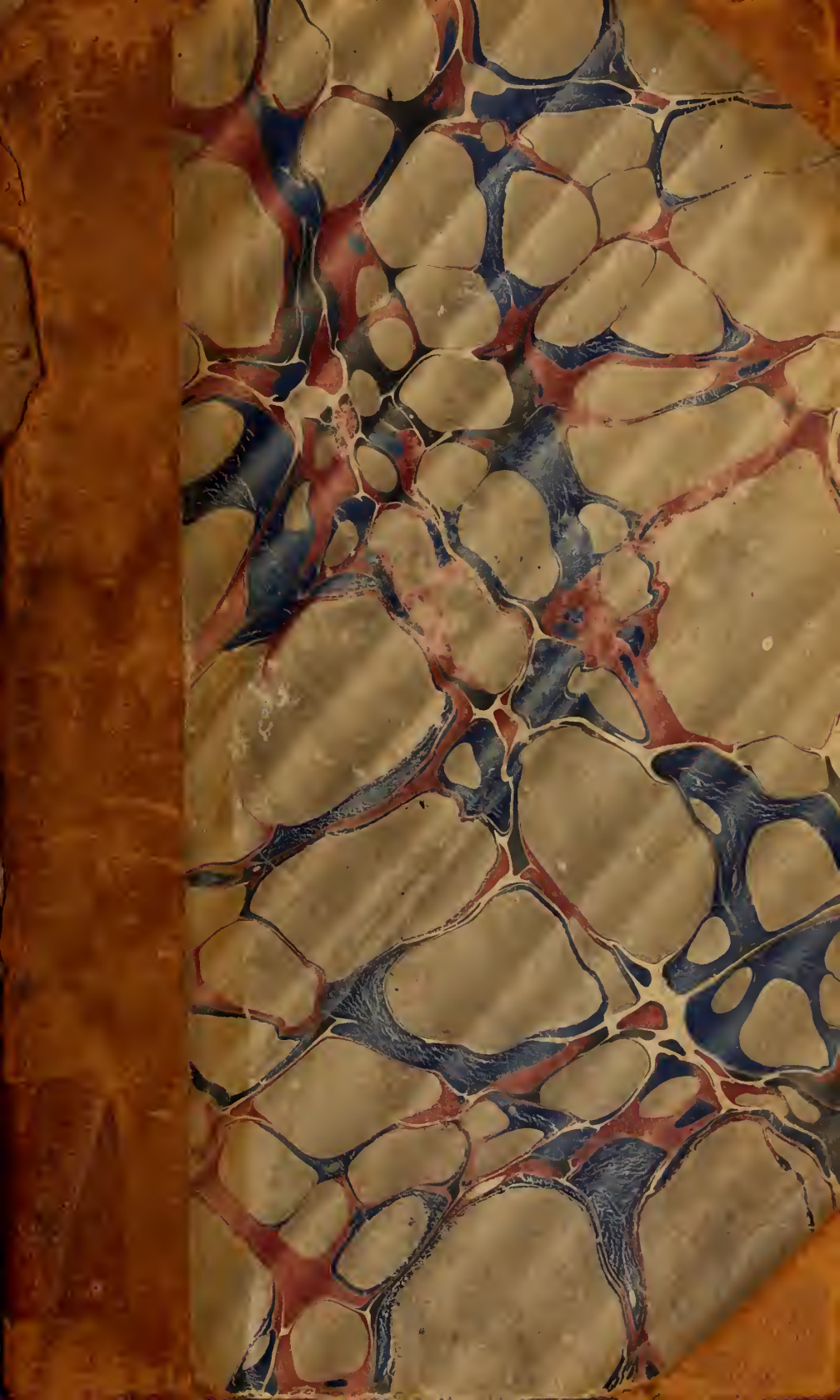




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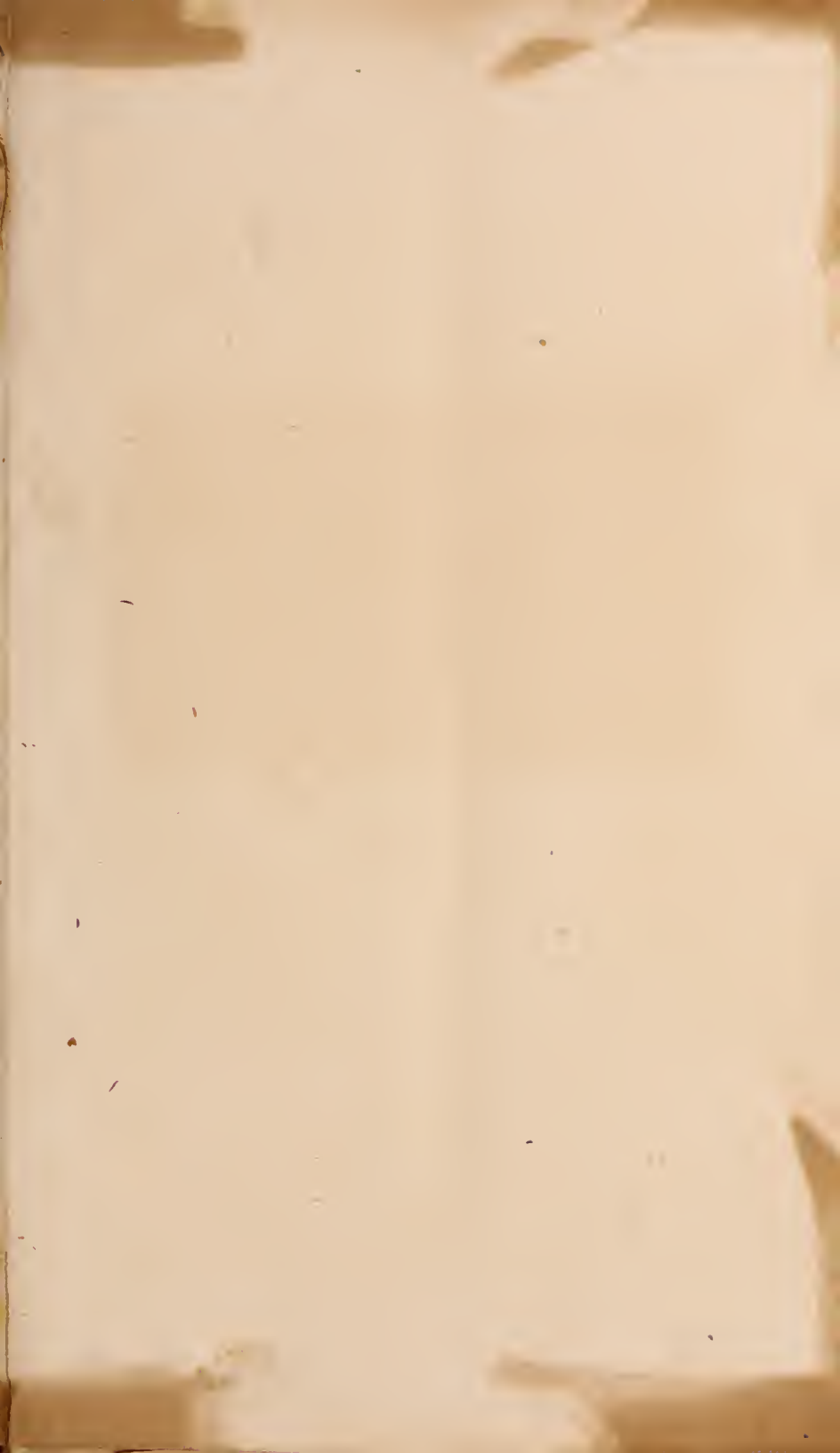
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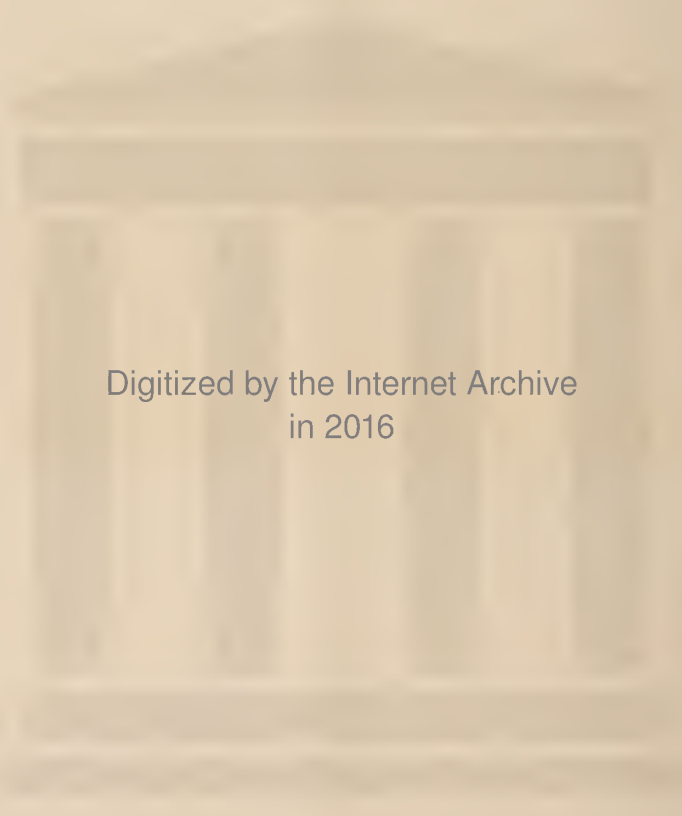
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THE

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VOL. XIX.

FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1850.

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1850.

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL

NAVY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY

JOHN

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LONDON

1791

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ART. I. *Defense of an Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Θεός into the Chinese language.* BY W. J. BOONE.
(Continued from page 385.)

THE issue made with us by Dr. Legge on this point was thus expressed in proposition *b* :—

“Admitting that the Chinese do not know the true God, (Dr Legge) contends that we should use a relative, not an absolute generic term to render Elohim and Θεός, because these words are relative, not absolute terms.”

On this point Dr. Legge writes : “First of all, I deny that God is a *generic* term. If I can substantiate this, then there is no room for ‘the single question,’ to which Dr. Boone ‘narrows’ the controversy. viz., ‘What is the generic name for *god* in the Chinese language?’ If it were intended in speaking of the ‘generic name for God’ merely to say that God is a term that may be applied (right or wrong) to more than one object of thought, I should let the use of the word pass without animadversion. I profess myself as much opposed as any man can be to the trifling of logomachies. But it has been employed according to its true application, which is not in questions of grammar and logic, but in the representations of natural history. Much has been said of the ‘genus of gods,’ as if there really were in nature many gods, while at the same time and on the same page, it is stated that ‘there is in truth but one God,’ and that ‘there is no other being in the universe but Jehovah entitled to this name.’ We are told that ‘the existence of a generic name for God is owing entirely to polytheism.’ ” page 4.

Though this seems to puzzle Dr. Legge very much, there is to my mind no difficulty about the matter as it was stated in my Essay. The question was asked at the outset, if the Chinese knew the true God, if they were mono-theists or poly-theists? To this question the answer was given "they are polytheists, they do not know the true God;" in which answer, as I understood, all then discussing this question agreed. Not knowing the Being we call God, they could have, I contended, no name for Him—no word answering to our word *God*, when used *proprie*. Under these circumstances, it was inquired, What is a translator to do? If he takes the name of the chief god, by the admission above made, this would be only the name of a false god, which it would be derogatory to Jehovah to use as his appellation; the name of any other particular deity inferior to the chief god, would be still more objectionable: it was therefore contended that, among polytheists, where the true God is unknown, the only course to be pursued is to use the generic name of their gods to render Elohim and Θεός; and to prevent mistake, this phrase was defined to be "the name of the highest genus, or *class of beings*, to whom the Chinese offer religious worship." Still further to guard against misapprehension, I wrote: "There being in truth but one God, the existence of a generic name for God is owing entirely to polytheism. If none other than the true religion had ever prevailed, there could have been no such genus as this conceived of. The gods of a polytheistic people are merely imaginary beings, who have no real existence. The true God claims the right to displace the whole class; and this is the reason that, in translating the Scriptures into the language of such a people, the generic term for god must be used: Jehovah claims the right—not to be recognized in the place of the chief god of such a system, but—to take the place of the whole class of gods. He will not consent to propose Himself to polytheists, as their Jupiter or Neptune, their *T'ien* 天 or their *Fuh* 佛 Budha. He claims to be 'the all and in all.' We must therefore take for Jehovah the name of the whole class, and affirm that it *properly* belongs to Him alone; that there is no other being in the universe *entitled to this name*; that those whom the heathen have, in the days of their polytheistic ignorance, called gods, are mere imaginary beings who have no existence except in the minds of their blinded votaries.

"The generic name for God, when thus claimed for Jehovah, undergoes a change by Christian usage; according to this usage, it is employed in a *proper sense*, to designate Jehovah alone; and, but

for the fact that it must still be used to combat polytheism, its generic character would wholly cease. But as polytheism gave rise to so *improper a genus*, so the necessity there exists of forbidding men to have a plurality of gods, causes the word to retain so much of its generic character, as to make it available to prohibit sternly the recognition and worship of all the imaginary beings, who are by polytheists *strictly and properly* included in its meaning." *Essay*, page 6.

With all this before him, Dr Legge writes: "Much has been said of the 'genus of gods,' as if there really *were in nature* many gods, while at the same time and on the same page, it is stated that 'there is in truth but one God.'" It is very surprising to me Dr Legge did not see that I contended there was *in nature* but one God, and that the *plurality* exists only in the *imagination* of polytheists; that the word *God*, when "employed in a *proper* sense," designates Jehovah alone, and that "the genus" is an "improper" one, whose existence is entirely owing to the false views of polytheists. But whether the beings designated be real or imaginary, can not, I conceive, alter the *character* of the word, which is the common name of the class. This word, if it be a name common to several *beings*, must be a common name, an appellative noun, a generic term. Whether Elohim is actually used as the name of only one being, or as a name common to a number of beings, is a question of fact, to be determined, not by inquiring what is the first idea that comes into our minds, when they "rise rapidly and vigorously to the idea of God," but by an appeal to the *usus loquendi* of the writers of the O. T. The inspired writers do not suppose that there exist many gods—a class of gods—nor do we, but polytheists do; and accordingly we find that *they*, in all the languages with which we are acquainted (the languages in which the Sacred Scriptures were written included), have a general name by which this class of beings is called; and that *monotheists*, whether inspired men or not, have never scrupled to use this word when speaking of these imaginary beings; it is idle therefore to say that the word so used is not the name of a class of beings—that it is not a generic term. In Hebrew, Eloah and Elohim, and in Greek Θεός, Θεοί, are used as the name of this class of beings, and in Chinese, we contend that Shin is so used.

With respect to the fact that Elohim is used as a name common to Jehovah and all the false gods of the polytheists mentioned in the O. T., there can, of course, be no controversy between Dr. Legge and myself, nor with respect to the fact whether Elohim is, or is not, the *appellative name* of this whole class; the only point of difference is

with respect to the *character* of this appellative; is it absolute or is it relative? This also is a question of *fact*, to be determined by an appeal to the *usus loquendi* of the word. If Dr. Legge understands generic as absolute appellative, and desires to deny that the word *Elohim* is generic in this sense, he makes the very issue which I desired to make in my Essay, when I defined *shin* to be the *name* of a class of *beings*, and called "*ti* a mere *relative term*, denoting *office*, and not an appellative noun." Dr. Legge's strictures on my use of the word "appellative noun" in this last sentence, are just; I wanted the opposite of "relative," and the proper term "absolute" did not occur to me. I am glad that Dr. Legge has called attention to my mistake, and brought up the question more clearly for discussion, by pointing out the proper terms to be used, viz., *absolute* and *relative*. I agree with him that the point is a fundamental one, and regret that I did not, in that part of my Essay, express my meaning more accurately. That Dr. Legge intends to maintain, in sober earnest, that God is a relative term, and not absolute, appears not only from his use of these words, but from his carefully defining the sense in which he uses the word *relative*, and from his assuring us that, "God does not indicate the *essence*, nor express anything about *the being* of Jehovah." This last statement is only a just consequence of the preceding one, "that God is a relative term;" but I should have thought the mere writing out the proposition in this form would have awakened Dr. Legge to a sense of its incorrectness, and caused him to blot out all he had written on the subject. Dr. Legge tells us very correctly, from Rees' Cyclopædia, that relative words "include a kind of opposition between them; yet so as that *one* can not be without the *other*."

Will Dr. Legge tell us then, what *that* is without which Jehovah could not be God? He answers on p. 5 its correlative is "creatures." "As soon as the first man was called into existence, Jehovah stood to him in the *relation* of God." Is the eternity of God one of the articles of Dr. Legge's creed? If so, to be consistent with the view above expressed, he must maintain the eternity of the creation also. On p. 11, Dr. Legge quotes the principle of the Grecian philosophers, "*ex nihilo nihil fit*." However true this doctrine may be when applied to every "material cause," does Dr. Legge regard it as true when applied to the efficient cause—to God? Does he deny a creation from nothing εἰς οὐκ οὐκ, so that there never was a time when God existed alone, before He had created anything? If Dr. Legge answers, as we have no doubt he will, that he believes in the eternal existence of the Being, and that this Being, when existing absolutely alone,

without anything extrinsic to Himself, out of nothing made the heavens and the earth; then he only differs from us in maintaining that this Being could not properly be called God when viewed thus absolutely; and the question is reduced to one of the *usus loquendi* of the word, which happily is so uniform that it is easily settled.

The Psalmist says, "O LORD, *before* the mountains were brought forth, or *ever* thou hadst formed the earth and the world; even *from* everlasting *to* everlasting, thou art God." Ps. xc. 2.—"I said, O my God, take me not away in the midst of my days: thy years are throughout all generations; of old thou hast laid the foundation of the earth" &c., &c. Ps. cii. 24. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." When the Evangelist tells us here that the Word "was God," does Dr. Legge understand him to say that the Word merely sustains a relationship to God the Father or to men? When stating the doctrine of the Trinity, does not Dr. L. say, "there are three Persons and one God?" Is the word *God* here used as a relative term? Dr. Legge says the correlative of God is *creature*; from which we infer the word *God* means Creator: can he adhere to this explanation of the word, and point out to us what relationship is affirmed to exist between the three Persons of the blessed Trinity when we say "there are three Persons and one God?" We also speak of "our Savior Christ" as "both God and man." Do we by the words "God" and "man" express our belief in the existence of two *natures*, the Divine and human, in one Christ; or merely mean thereby, that Christ sustained two diverse *relations*, i. e. creator and creature, to other beings? If Dr. Legge can be induced to forget for a moment his thesis, "God is a relative term, not absolute," which, to sustain the cause of *Shángti*, "Supreme Ruler," he has incautiously undertaken to defend, he will I have no doubt acknowledge, with the orthodox of all ages of the Church, that by the word *God* when so used, we affirm that the three Persons are of one divine essence or nature—of one substance. This is undoubtedly the meaning the word *God* bears, and has borne in the Christian Church from the beginning, as can be shown from its *usus loquendi*.

I open a work on Systematic Theology, which lies before me, that of Knapp, and turn to the heading; "General names applied to Deity, without distinction of true or false." The first given is *Eloah, Elohim*. I turn to the next article; it is headed, "Of the *nature* and *attributes* of God." The writer tells us, "the *nature* of God is the sum of the divine perfections, the *attributes* of God are the particu' r distinct *perfections* or *realities*, which are *predic' ble* of the divine *nature*."

These attributes are then considered in the following order, "The Spirituality of God;" "the Eternity and Immutability of God;" &c., &c. Are not these *essential* attributes? If Dr. Legge, when he predicates these attributes of Jehovah, does not call Him *God*, will he inform us what word he uses as the name of this Being, when discoursing of His attributes?

But this work is a recent one, and Dr. Legge fortifies his position with the great name of Newton; we shall therefore exhibit at some length the *usus loquendi* of the word. We do this not merely for the interests of this controversy, but for the cause of truth in general, for if Dr. Legge's position be correct, our formulas, which teach us the orthodox faith on the doctrine of the Trinity, are worth nothing, and our systems of divinity, which use the word *God*, when affirming the eternity of Jehovah, affirm also the eternal existence of its correlative the *creature*.

The first quotation we shall cite to show the *usus loquendi* of the word, is from Tertullian. He distinguishes the words *God* and *Lord* as follows:—

"Dei nomen dicimus semper fuisse apud semetipsum et in semetipso Dominum vero non semper. Diversa enim utriusque conditio. *Deus* substantiæ ipsius nomen, id est, divinitatis; *Dominus* vero non substantiæ, sed potestatis, substantiam semper fuisse cum suo nomine, quod est *Deus*; postea *Dominus*, accedentis scilicet rei mentio. Nam ex quo esse cœperunt in quæ potestas Domini ageret, ex illo, per accessionem potestatis, et factus et dictus est Dominus. *Tertull. contra Hermog. cap. 3, quoted in Waterland's Works.*

Council of Nice. Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς ἓνα κυρίον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ τούτεστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς . . . ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ, &c.

The Athanasian Creed. "We worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the *substance*. For the right faith is that we believe and confess; that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and man: God of the *substance* of the Father, and Man of the *substance* of his mother: who although he be God and man, yet he is not two but one Christ; one altogether; not by confusion of *substance*, but by unity of person."

The Protestant churches at the Reformation, without a single exception, I believe, define the word *God* in their standards as an absolute, not as a relative term; and in direct opposition to Dr. Legge affirm that the word *God* does "indicate essence, and express *something* about the *being* of Jehovah."

1. The Confession of England thus speaks on this subject : " We believe that there is one certain *nature* and Divine power, which we call God, and that the same one God hath created heaven and earth, and all things contained under heaven." See *Harmony of Protestant Confessions ; Conf. of England*, p. 30.

2. " We believe and teach that God is one in *essence* or *nature*, subsisting by himself, all-sufficient in himself, invisible, without a body, infinite, eternal, the Creator of all things both visible and invisible," &c. See *ibid. The Latter Conf. of Helvetia*, p. 18.

3. " We believe and acknowledge only one God, who is one only and simply *essence*, spiritual, eternal, invisible, immutable, infinite, incomprehensible, unspeakable, almighty, most wise, good, just, and merciful." *Ibid, Conf. of France*, p. 29.

4. " We believe in heart, and confess with the mouth, that there is only one and simple spiritual *essence*, which we call God, eternal, incomprehensible, invisible, immutable, infinite, who is wholly wise, and a most plentiful well-spring of all good things." *Ibid, Conf. of Belgia*, p. 32.

5. " The churches with common consent among us do teach . . . that there is one Divine *essence*, which is called, and is God, eternal, without body, indivisible, of infinite power, wisdom, goodness, the Creator and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible," &c. *Ibid, Conf. of Augsburg*, p. 36.

These documents all speak one language, and that directly the reverse of the main proposition on which Dr. Legge's argument is founded. But the point is of such great importance, that I trust the reader will pardon my presenting him some additional quotations from a few eminent theological writers.

Bishop Pearson, commenting on the words of the first Article of the Creed, " I believe in God ;" after saying that the name *God* is attributed unto many, tells us that the excellency which makes it *proper* to Him " is grounded upon the Divine *nature* or *essence*, which all other who are called gods have not, and therefore are not by *nature* gods. ' Then when ye knew not God (saith St. Paul), ye did service to them, who by nature are not gods.' (Gal. iv. 8) There is then a God by nature, and others, which are called gods, but by *nature* are not so ; for either they have no power at all, because no being, but only in the false opinions of deceived men, as the gods of the heathen, or if they have any real power or authority, from whence some are called *gods* in Scripture, yet they have it not from themselves, or of their own nature, but from Him who ' only hath immortality,' and consequently,

only Divinity, and therefore is 'the only true God.' . . . So that the notion of a Deity doth at last expressly signify a *being* or *nature* of infinite perfection; and the infinite perfection of a nature or being consisteth in this, that it be absolutely and essentially necessary, an actual being of itself; and potential or causative of all beings beside itself, independent from any other, upon which all things else depend, and by which all things else are governed." *Exp of the Creed*, p. 25.

Archbishop Usher says, "We describe God by these properties, a spirit eternal. Or more fully, God is a spiritual substance, having his being of himself, infinitely great and good, and hence we learn to acknowledge both our being and well-being from him, and from him alone; and when we say that God is a substance, we mean that he is such a thing, as hath a being-in himself, of himself, and which giveth a being to all other things." *Body of Divinity*, p. 41.

Waterland, having expressed his views of what is included in the Scripture notion of one that is truly and properly God, as given above at page 361, in our quotation from his Works, says: "And if Scripture has thus informed us what *properties*, *attributes*, and *perfections* (observe, not what relations) must be supposed to meet in one that is truly and properly God, our own reason must tell us that these attributes, &c., must have a subject, and this subject we call substance; and therefore the *Scripture notion* of God, is that of an eternal, immutable, omnipresent, omniscient, almighty substance." *Waterland's Works*, Vol. II. p. 37.

Dr. Clarke, Waterland's great opponent, contended as Dr. Legge does, that the word God was a relative term, implying dominion; and to sustain this view quoted from Hippolytus a sentence that Waterland comments on as follows. "The words you chiefly value are *πρωτοκράτωρ παρὰ πατρός κατεστάθη Χριστός*, '*Christ was constituted Ruler over all by the Father.*' On occasion whereof, let me observe a thing to you, which you are not aware of; that though the ancients scrupled not to say, that Christ was *constituted* by the Father *Ruler* or *Lord*, or even *Creator*, (according to Prov. viii.) or anything coming under the notion of *office*, (the Father ever being looked upon as the *first* in order, and in virtue thereof, the fountain of every office, according to his own voluntary appointment,) yet you will never find it said by the ancients, that the Father *constituted* Christ a *God*, or appointed him to be *God*, which observation is highly deserving your special notice; as it may discover to you a fundamental flaw in your *hypothesis*, and may show you that you have taken a great deal of pains with the ancients upon a

very wrong view, and (give me leave to add) to very little purpose. Had you found ever an ancient testimony, declaring that Christ was constituted *God over all*, you would have done something; the rest are impertinent, and come not up to your point. The word *God* was never looked upon as a word of *office* or *dominion*, but of *nature* and *substance*; and hence it is that the ancients never speak of Christ's being constituted God." Waterland's Works, Vol. II, p. 415.

"The truth is, *God* denotes *all perfection*, and *Father* denotes a *relation* of order, and a particular *manner of existing*, all which you confusedly blend together, as if signified by the one word *God*." *Ibid*, p. 510.

Bishop Stillingfleet says, "We do not say that three persons are but one person, or that one nature is three natures; but that there are three persons in one nature. If, therefore one individual nature be communicable to three persons, there is no appearance of absurdity in this doctrine. And on the other side, it is impossible that there should be three Gods, where there is one and the same individual nature; for three Gods must have three several divine natures, *since it is the divine essence which makes a God*." *Enchiridion Theologicum*, Vol. I, p. 427.

Quotations on this point might be extended ad libitum, but those given above are enough to show that the word *God*, by the *usus loquendi* of orthodox writers of the Christian Church of all ages, is an absolute, not a relative term, and that it *does indicate the essence of Jehovah*.

Dr. Legge endeavors to sustain his proposition that "God is not a generic, but a relative term," by what he calls a grammatical or syntactical proof, which proof he fortifies with two considerations, and the great name of Newton. The grammatical proof is that the English word *God* may be used, either with or without the English articles. The first consideration, which fortifies the view derived from the grammatical uses of the word, is that "it (supposing the word *God* to be a relative term) meets and explains all the facts of the case;" second, "that the manner in which the name is vindicated to Jehovah in the Old Testament is inexplicable, excepting on this view." We shall take up these severally in the order in which they are above stated.

The grammatical proof is thus stated by Dr. Legge. "Grammatical propriety is not violated by any of the forms of expression:—God made the world, a God made the world, the God made the world, Gods made the world. Let us take any generic term of the animal kingdom, and try to use it in the same way, and we shall find it imprac-

licable." The fact here brought forward by Dr. Legge is that the word *God* may in English be used either with or without the article, and the inference he draws from it is, that it is an appellative noun of the class called relative, and not of the class called absolute. I state the matter in this way to avoid logomachy, for Dr. L. says in his Essay, "it is universally conceded that *God* is not a proper name;" and "Grammarians divide all nouns into two classes, which are now generally denominated *proper* and *common*; formerly, common nouns were called appellatives, and they include all nouns which are not proper;" and that "a relative term may be as much an appellative as a generic term." He can therefore, only mean to affirm, that the individuals who have this common name are classed together under this appellative, because they sustain, or are supposed to sustain, a relationship towards men, which is common to them all, and not because of their possessing a being supposed to possess certain attributes or natural qualities, which are common to them all. What is there, then, in the known rules with respect to the use of the English article, that makes its use or non-use, a proper test for deciding such a question as this? "Proper nouns designate beings in a definite manner, so that there is no need of any sign to point out the particular individuals, to which they are applied. *Appellative* nouns" (relative or absolute) "on the contrary, being common to all the individuals of the same species, when we wish to apply them to a single individual, or a certain number of individuals of this species, or lastly to the whole species, it is of use to employ particular signs to indicate these various applications." "The words, which serve to determine the extension of appellative nouns, are denominated *Articles*."

Hence Dr. Legge, from his first example, "*God* made the world," might infer that as the word *God* here designates a given being so definitely, "that there is no need of any sign to point out the particular individual to whom it is applied," it must be a proper name; but he admits "it is universally conceded that *God* is not a proper name;" and this conclusion would be shown to be incorrect by his 2d, 3d and 4th examples of the use of the word. These last examples prove, beyond a doubt, that the word is used as an appellative, but give not the slightest hint, as to whether the beings comprehended under this common appellation, were so called because of their sustaining *relationships*, or possessing *attributes* common to them all. Dr. Legge admits that the word *man*, as well as the word *God*, may be used in these four constructions; *e. g.* "*man* built the house, a *man* built the house, the *man* built the house, *men* built the house;" but this does

not cause the slightest distrust of the value of his test, for he doubts if "man be rightly called a generic term"!!! He says, "it does not belong to our subject to explain how *man*, if it be rightly called a generic term, differs from other similar terms in this grammatical use." With all deference to Dr. L., it seems to me this is the very thing his subject did require him to explain, if he wished his readers to have any confidence in the value of his proposed test, to ascertain whether a noun be appellative relative, or appellative absolute, i. e. generic. If *man* be a generic term, and Dr. L. will explain to us why it differs from other generic terms, "in this grammatical use," we may perhaps see, by the light of this explanation how *God* may be a generic term and agree with the word *man* "in this grammatical use" of the articles.

If *man* be not "a generic term" (as Dr. L. hints), it is so commonly supposed to be one, that he might have taken it for granted his readers would have been of this opinion, and should therefore have paused to explain, how this error had become so common, by either showing that the word *man* is not a name common to the race called in Latin, the *genus homo*—or that the name of such a race is properly called a generic term, in which last case, he should have defined the sense in which he uses the phrase "generic term," as it must be one peculiar to himself. Dr. Legge may conclude, if he please, that the words, *God* and *man*, are quite anomalous in their method of both using and rejecting the article, though he furnishes us with a list of words (which list might very easily be greatly extended) that admit of the same construction; but nothing can be more fanciful than his use of this test, to ascertain whether a word be relative or absolute—whether it may be used to render Elohim and Θεός or not.

Dr. Legge does not appear to have settled in his own mind definitely, what the relation designated by the word *God* is. On p. 5, he tells us the correlatives stand thus, "God and creatures;" on p. 8, it "has regard to servants, and implies dominion;" on pp. 36, 37, "Supreme Ruler." He says he has gone over the collection of passages in Crudden's Concordance "with the view of testing whether *Shàngti* (Supreme Ruler) will serve as a translation of God, and the result was that Supreme Ruler tallies with every one of them." He laughs at the distinction made in my Essay of the two senses in which the word is used (i. e. proper and improper), and declares on p. 21, "*I* only know of one meaning or sense belonging to it."—"To speak of God in the sense of heathen nations is absurd."*

* Dr. Legge's words are, "But to speak of God in the sense of heathen nations is absurd. Heathen writers never use it without an article,—i. e. in the

"All this (the saying that the phrase "Supreme Ruler" always tallies with the word *God*) is nothing more than saying at great length what might have been said in four words, *God just means God*. Men may play fantastic tricks in the application of terms, but the meaning or significance of the terms as terms remains the same." What inherent vitality words must have in them, one is ready to exclaim, to stand out so stiffly against men's perverse *usus loquendi*! Ernesti says, "§ 16. *The meaning of words conventional*. Words, considered simply as sound, have no meaning; for they are not natural and necessary signs of things, but conventional ones. Usage or custom has constituted a connection between words and ideas."

"The first of all the laws of interpretation is certainly this:—to endeavor to investigate the sense of a writing or passage which is to be interpreted, according to the signification which the *general usage of the language*, or also the well known particular *usage* of the writer, connects with the words which he employs. The rule, in one word, amounts to this: we should seek in the first place the literal sense of every passage to be interpreted, as it must be afforded either by the *general usage*, or by one which is peculiar to the writer. This no one has doubted, and no one can doubt who is possessed of a sound understanding." *Planck's Introd. to Sacred Philology and Interpretation*. Translated by Dr. Turner, p. 128.

These writers only declare in other words, what Horace said long before them, that words are the mere creatures of usage.

sense in which it is employed in English without an article—excepting when they do so in its true application, and convey by it its real meaning." I have several remarks to make on these two sentences. What is the meaning of the last? Heathen writers never use the word *God* without an article *in the sense in which it is used without an article in English*, excepting when they convey by it its real meaning: in other words, the word *God* in the English language, when used without an article, is used in the sense we call *propre*, and heathen writers never use the word *in this sense* except when they convey by it its true meaning. This is a truism Dr. L. might have spared us. Does he mean to lay down a general proposition that heathen writers universally, in their respective languages, never, &c? This would be saying something towards the support of his "grammatical test;" but unhappily for this supposition, many heathen languages, e. g. the Latin and *Chinese*, have no article; the Hebrew and Greek have. Will Dr. L. venture the assertion that wherever *Elohim* and *Theos* are used *without the article*, these words always designate the Being whom we in English designate by the word *God*, when it is used without the article? My words were, "We only maintain that it (*shin*) means *god* in the sense of heathen nations." Dr. L. changes this word "god" into "God," and asserts that the phrase "God in the sense of heathen nations" is absurd. What is the difference between the phrase *I used* and that of Cudworth, "the pagan notion of the word god or gods?" Will Dr. L. as dogmatically assert the absurdity of the phrase, used by "that great scholar?"

“ Si volet *usus*,
Quem penes arbitrium, et jus et norma loquendi.”

Dr. Legge regards this common-sense view of the matter, we may suppose, almost in the same light as he does a heresy. His doctrine is: “ Does Dr. Boone doubt that we shall remodel the *literature* of the Chinese? Whatever there is in the *literature* of this great country that is vicious and of error, will be driven away by the advance of truth, like the chaff before the wind. Nothing that *man's intellect has wrought* in the vanity of its imaginations, will abide the sifting of science, and the presence of God's book. . . . But we can not remodel the *language* of the country. The *literature* is the work of man; the *language* is the work of God. As surely as the corn that grows from the bosom of the earth is from God, so also is language that grows up out of the mind of man.” p. 20. He speaks of ideas “ inhering ” in words, and remarks, that on a comparison of the meanings given of *God*, *Theos*, and *Elohim* in Johnson's, Robinson's and Gesenius' Lexicons, “ there is *felt* (the italics are his own) the truth of the remark that *Elohim* and *Theos* are correctly rendered in English by God.” If Dr. L.'s theory be true, with what reverence should we regard all the divinely inspired words of this heathen language! How impious of us to attempt to change the meaning of any word by our *usus loquendi*, (e. g. of any appellative noun, sc. the general name of their objects of worship,) as this would imply an impression on our part, that the Chinese had false conceptions of the objects, when they classed them together under a common appellative, and that “ the language ” was the work of their own fallible minds, not “ the work of God,” thus wrongly ascribing to men a work of God, and robbing him of his due!* This peculiar view of the nature of language exercises a most unhappy influence upon Dr. L. as a philosophical inquirer. This we shall see as we proceed.

But to return to the point in hand: if the use or non-use of the article affords a reliable test of the suitableness of a word to render *Elohim* and Θεός, we wonder Dr. Legge did not put the words he

* It is very strange to me that Dr. Legge did not perceive how completely these views of his are at variance with those of Bacon, quoted by him, with approbation, on the 39th page of his “ Argument.” “ The error [of calling the Chinese *shin* gods] supplies us with a fine specimen of what Bacon calls the *idola fori*. ‘ These,’ he says, ‘ are the most troublesome of all causes of error. They arise out of the commerce or intercourse of society, and especially from language. Words are commonly given to things according to *vulgar apprehension*, and *distinguish* things by differences apprehensible to a *common understanding*; and when an intellect more acute, and more diligent observation, would *distinguish things better*, the words cry out against the endeavor.’ ”

proposes to use, "Supreme Ruler," to this test. Can he say "Supreme Ruler made the world?"* But it is time I should go on to "the considerations" which Dr. Legge adduces to fortify his inference.

The first is, The regarding God as a relative term "meets and explains all the facts of the case." This is a resort to the true inductive method, an appeal to the *usus loquendi*—the facts of the case, and by this appeal we will cheerfully abide. The facts of the case Dr. Legge tells us are, "that men served the true God before they wrongly imagined any other. When they took his *attributes*, and gave them to other beings, real or fictitious, they called them by the name which belonged to him only." This appears to us a correct account of what must have been the case with the first men, those who used the primitive language; but Dr. Legge's proposition, "men served the true God before they wrongly imagined any other," is an indefinite proposition, which is not true if it be taken universally. If he says, Some men, the first men, those who spoke the primitive language, served the true God before they conceived of false gods, and that the word *God* must therefore have been used *by them* *proprie*, before it was ever used *improprie*, his proposition is no doubt perfectly correct; but it can have no bearing on the English word *God*, or the Chinese words *Shángti* or *Shin*, unless he is prepared to contend that the English or Chinese was the primitive language. If Dr. Legge will make his proposition universal,—“all men served the true God before they wrongly imagined any other,” its fallacy is at once apparent; it would require all men to have been monotheists before they were polytheists, which is contrary to what we all know to be the fact. The facts of the case, so far as they can affect the present nations of men and their languages, appear to me to be these.

In the 10th chapter of Genesis, we read, "And unto Eber were born two sons; the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided." And in the next chapter: "The whole earth was of one language and of one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they

* The reason the word *god* in English does not need the article to designate definitely the true God seems to me capable of very easy explanation. The English are monotheists; they hold that there is only one God; this word therefore according to their faith is properly the name of but one being, and "designates this being in a definite manner, so that there is no need of any sign to point out the particular individual to whom it is applied." It is natural that monotheists should fall into such a *usage*, so that the word standing absolutely should designate Jehovah, and that it should require a sign to make it refer to any other being.

dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick and burn them throughly. And they said, Go to, let us build a city and a tower *whose top may reach to heaven*, and let us make us a name (or a sign) *lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth*. And the Lord said, Go to, let us go down and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth." From this we may infer that when Peleg was born, men received a Divine command to divide themselves into separate groups, and go into different quarters of the earth, that the whole might be inhabited. Against this Divine command they determined to rebel, and as a rallying point to prevent their being "scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth," they commenced building "a tower whose top should reach to heaven," a lofty object that could be seen afar, and would serve to bring them all back to a common centre. For this rebellion God confounded their speech, and by this means enforced obedience to his command, which they were in the act of disobeying. "So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth;" and we hear nothing more of the scattered groups, except those immediately connected with the chosen people, until they come up, hundreds of years afterwards, on the pages of profane history. Whether the men who were building this tower had taken God's attributes and given them to other beings, and called these beings by His name, and thus become polytheists, we can not tell; the account in Genesis is too brief.*

* Dr. Hales (Chronology, Vol. I, page 358) thus speaks of the "ringleader" in this rebellion "The prime author of this rebellion against the divine decree, and grand corrupter of the pure patriarchal religion, by *Sabianism* and *Demonolatry*, was the Cuthite *Nimrod*, 'the Rebel,' as the name implies, who was afterwards deified himself under the title of *Belus*, and supposed to be translated to the constellation *Orion*, in the heavens. And from the central region of *Babel*, this grand apostacy from the primitive faith, seems to have been transplanted into the four quarters of the world; as proved from the remarkable fact of the general resemblance of the pagan mythology, in these its two leading outlines, in Asia, Africa, Europe and America; and from the conformity between the leading doctrines of the primitive pagan priesthood, the *Magi* in Chaldaea, the Brahmins in the East, and the Druids in the West, as circumstantially proved by Faber in his elaborate work."

Faber says, "When the children of Noah left the high land of Armenia they journeyed until they reached the flat country of Shinar. During their progress, or possibly before they quitted Mount Ararat, the ambitious Nimrod, at the head of his enterprising Cuthites, accustomed them to submit to his rule, and laid the foundation of that idolatrous apostacy, which he after completed at Babylon. Noah and the three great paternal patriarchs were now dead: and I am strongly inclined to suspect that even before the emigration from Armenia, the worship of the true God on the summit of Ararat, was perverted to the worship, or at least to the excessive veneration of the self-triplicating great

But let us suppose that, up to the time of this act of great rebellion, they had not forsaken the true God for any false gods; admitting these to be the circumstances of the case, what is the weight of the inference in favor of the fact that each of these groups of rebels would teach their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, generation after generation, to worship the true God? They are rebels punished with a great curse for their rebellion. Such men, we know, do not "like to retain God in their knowledge." On what then are we to base the inference that their descendants, after the lapse of several hundred years, would still retain a knowledge of the true God? Look at those nations which, from their proximity to the chosen family, are mentioned in the Scriptures, and what does the narrative tell us of their state? What is the state of the Canaanites, Hivites, &c.; of Sodom and Gomorrah? To keep alive a knowledge of the true God upon the earth, Abraham is thus addressed by God: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee." The reason of this command was, that even in this favored family, the true God had been forgotten, and the worship of false gods set up. "And Joshua said unto the people; Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham and the father of Nahor; *and they served other gods.*" Josh. xxiv, 2.

Thus we perceive, where we have history to lead us, and are not left to inference, that by the time of Abraham, polytheism had become so prevalent, that to keep alive a knowledge of the true God, he must be separated from his country and his father's house, for there the plague had commenced. If we look too at the proneness of the chosen people to forsake Jehovah their God for strange gods, even after he had made bare His arm on their behalf, and led them out of Egypt through the Red Sea, we shall be convinced, that, with the

father and the vessel out of which he had been born into the post-diluvian world." Faber on Pagan Idolatry, Vol. III, p. 238.

In his first volume, having discussed at length, and with great learning and ability, "the common origination of the various systems of paganism," he sums up his opinion in these words: "Thus, so far as I can judge, it indisputably appears, that the idolatry, by which all the various nations of the earth were infatuated, was a system originally invented at Babel under the auspices of Nimrod and his Cuthites, and afterwards in the progress of replenishing the world with inhabitants, by the various scattered members of his broken empire, carried off alike to the nearest and to the most remote countries of the globe. Such being the case, though the hypothesis of Mr. Bryant is certainly not affected by *this* circumstance, all those theories which would deduce the origin of pagan mythology either from Egypt or from Hindustan, or from any other country peopled after the dispersion from Babel, *must*, according to the Scriptural account of the matter, fall to the ground." *Ibid*, Vol I., p. 76.

limited attainments in knowledge which the men of that infant age of the race had made, the temptation to polytheism must have been very strong—perfectly overwhelming where there was nothing but a faint tradition through a long line of ungodly men, or the light of nature, to instruct them in the unity of the Godhead. We think from these considerations, that the inference is against our finding, hundreds of years after the dispersion from Babel (when they have become sufficiently civilized to begin recording events, and their history commences), in the language of any of the tribes that were completely separated from the chosen people, a word which answers to *Elohim* when used *proprie*: that is, a word which is used as the name of a self-existent, almighty, spiritual Being, who created the heavens and the earth. At any rate, the circumstances are such that no one is entitled to take it for granted that there must have been such a word in each of the dialects now spoken by men, which was afterwards corrupted by the usage of polytheists. Polytheism may not be older than the word *Elohim*, as the Hebrew may have been the language spoken by Noah; but we know it was much older than the time of Moses, who is the first writer in Hebrew whose writings have reached us. We think it is probably older than either of the words $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, *Deus*, or *God*, and shall in a subsequent part of this Defense state some of the considerations which have led us to think that in Greece at least, $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ was used *improprie*, long before it was used *proprie*. It is time however, now to return to Dr. Legge's first fortification of the inference derived from his grammatical argument.

If we admit the fact to be, in the case of all existing languages, as Dr. Legge supposes, I can not see how he can derive any inference from it in favor of his supposition that the word must be a relative term. Whether we suppose that the word *god* was first used as the name of the true God, and was afterwards applied to false gods, or that it had been previously applied to a number of beings, and was claimed afterwards as properly applicable only to one, would not at all affect, so far as I can see, the question whether the word was first used as a relative or absolute term. To decide the point we are contending about, we must inquire, Why, in either case, was this name given? 1st, Whether the being or beings, as the case might be, were called by this name because he or they were supposed to possess certain properties or qualities, which constituted them subsisting beings? or 2d, Whether they had this name from their being regarded as merely sustaining a certain relation to some other beings or things? To prove that it must have been from the latter view that the name

was given, Dr. Legge quotes a passage from the first chapter of Romans, which appears to me to show in the plainest manner the incorrectness of his views of the character of the word *God*. I commence the quotation a few lines above those quoted by Dr. Legge. "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them (*marg. or, to them*); for God hath showed it unto them: (for the invisible things of him from the creation are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead); so that they are without excuse: because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts and creeping things;" and "changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever, Amen." With the same view, on p. 36 of his Argument, he quotes the words of St. Paul in I. Cor. viii. 5, 6; "For though there be that are called gods whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many and lords many), but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." On this he remarks; "Nothing can be plainer to my mind, from this passage, than that the apostle dealt with *θεος* as a relative term, having its *proper* signification, and *expressing a relation*, of which the one party could *only be the Supreme Being*, of whom are all things and we by him, and from whom therefore it could never be diverted, excepting by the depravity of men, and a falsehood imposed upon themselves. *And this* is the signification of the term, and thus it is dealt with *throughout the Scriptures*. Jehovah says, 'There is no God' *i. e.* no Supreme Ruler, 'beside me.' "

It would consume too much time to examine closely both of these passages; we shall therefore take the first one quoted by Dr. Legge, merely remarking on the latter, that if the words "God" and "Father," in the sentence "one God, the Father," are both so clearly *relative* terms in Dr. Legge's view, that nothing can be plainer to his mind, we should like to know what construction he can possibly put on what is commonly called the orthodox statement of the doctrine of the Trinity?

In examining the first passage quoted, that from Rom. i. 19, we shall merely give the views of a few eminent commentators, and leave Dr. Legge to answer them if, after reading their views, it still continues

so plain to his mind, that the apostle Paul uses $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ as a relative term. The first question to be asked, in determining whether St. Paul uses the word *God* as an absolute or relative term, here, is, what are "the invisible things of him," which "from the creation of the world are clearly seen?" Bloomfield says, ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ mean "his nature and attributes of Godhead, not discernible to mortal eyes." Stuart, Ἀόρατα means the attributes or qualities of the Divine Being; of course the expression refers to the attributes belonging to God considered as a spirit." Hodge, "These invisible things are seen, *being understood*, that is, it is a mental vision of which Paul speaks. The eye of sense sees nothing but the exterior, but the mind sees mind, and mind possessed not of human *power and perfections*, but of eternal *power and divinity*." But we are not left merely to his commentators; the apostle himself tells us what "that which may be known of God" is—"even his eternal power and Godhead." The power here spoken of is not, to use the words of Tertullian, merely "*accidentis rei mentis*," but an absolute and eternal property of the Being mentioned.

If Dr. Legge's opinion of the way in which St. Paul always uses the word $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ is correct, then the word here rendered by our translators "Godhead," should have been rendered "Rulership," or "the state or condition of being Ruler." How then should this word $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$ be understood? Stuart says, " $\Theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$ is distinguished by Tholuck and others from $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\eta\varsigma$, for they represent the latter as signifying the *Divinity, or the Divine nature*, while the former is represented as meaning the *complexity of the divine attributes*, the sum or substance of the divine attributes. I can not however, find any good ground for such a distinction. $\Theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$ is the abstract from $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$; and from this latter is formed the *concrete* or adjective derivative $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\delta\varsigma$ divine. To $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$ of course means *divinity*, and from this comes another abstract noun with the same signification. So Passow, $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$, divinity, divine nature. He then adds, "In particular, divine greatness, power, excellence, eminence, &c., &c.; i. e. $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$ designates the divinity with special reference to these qualities—the identical manner in which the word is employed in our text." Bloomfield, "his omnipotence and the other attributes of his Godhead."

The next question is, what is meant by the sentence, "When they knew God, they glorified him not as God?" Does the apostle mean that they did not regard and treat him as a being, standing in such a relationship to them, should have been treated; or that they served him in a manner derogatory to his divine nature?

Bloomfield says, "the glorifying of God as God must consist in the thorough recognition of all his glorious attributes—his eternity, power, wisdom, &c., &c. Tholuck says, "To glorify God as God is to acknowledge him in the integrity of the divine attributes, and then, for the sake of these, to love, invoke, and fear him."

Hodge, "The apostle says, When they knew God they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful. These two expressions include every act of worship. The former refers to the recognition of the *divine perfections*, the latter to the acknowledgement of God as the source of all good. To regard God as possessed of all excellence and as the giver of all good, is true piety."

With one more question we must close our examination of this passage. Did their folly, in making an image of the incorruptible God, arise from a mistake with regard to the relationship indicated by the word *God*, or a mistake with regard to the Divine nature, which is expressed by this word? That it is the last, all the commentators are agreed, and the nature of the case puts it beyond all question. Bloomfield, "They dishonored the glorious nature of the incorruptible God, by representing him under the likeness of corruptible man, and birds, &c." Tholuck, "False conceptions of God gave rise to false representations of him." Hodge, "Their soul lost all right apprehensions of the divine character and perfections, and they were hence able to worship as gods, birds, beasts, and creeping things." Stuart, "They foolishly and inconsiderately indulged evil imaginations, *i. e.* base and degrading views respecting the nature and attributes of God, and the honor due to him."

I can not think that Dr. Legge's "view of the term *God*. . . meets and explains all the facts of the case."

The second consideration, by which Dr. L. endeavors to fortify his view of the word *God* as a relative term, is, that "the manner in which the name God is vindicated to Jehovah in the Old Testament is inexplicable excepting on this view." I wish Dr. L. had mentioned the difficulties which he saw in the way of vindicating the name *God* to Jehovah on the supposition that it is an absolute term, *i. e.* a word "indicating the essence, the being of Jehovah" (to use his own words), for my mind can not conceive any.

We have seen above, that Dr. L. admits "that appellatives include all nouns that are not proper;" whether, therefore, this word is absolute or relative, it is a name that is confessedly common to many individuals, which is vindicated as properly belonging only to one. But what is there, in the meaning of this word, if it be supposed an absolute

name, to render its vindication to Jehovah, in the passages quoted by Dr. L., so inexplicable? These passages from the Old Testament are, "There is no God with me," "I am God, and there is none else," &c. If we suppose the word *God* to be a relative term "implying dominion," if it be supreme dominion, there is nothing inexplicable, I admit, in vindicating such a title as due only to Jehovah. But what is there inexplicable in the vindication of this name to Jehovah, if we suppose the word to imply the possession of attributes, qualities, nature? Are there any beings beside Jehovah who have the same nature with Him, so that if the word be used in this last sense, it can not be claimed as properly belonging to Him alone? The passages quoted by Dr. L. declare that polytheists are wrong, there is only one God; but they do not say whether the word *God* is used as the name of a Being, regarded as standing in a given relationship, or as possessed of a given nature: in which of these two senses the word is used, we must learn from its general *usus loquendi*.

From the passages quoted by Dr. L., which give no intimation in which of the two senses the word is used, I must however except the last, as it is very clearly in this case used not "to imply dominion," but nature. The passage is from Ezekiel xxviii, 2, 9. "Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith Jehovah God, Because thy heart is lifted up and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man and not God. . . . Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am God? But thou shalt be a man, and no God in the hand of him that slayeth thee." What is the antithesis between "a man and not God," if the word *God* here only "implies dominion"—means "Supreme Ruler" as Dr L. contends it does? Waterland was so far seeing anything inexplicable in regarding the word here as an absolute term, that he quotes this very passage to show that the word implies nature, not dominion. He says, "When the Prince of Tyre pretended to be God, he thought of something more than mere *dominion* to make him so; he thought of strength invincible and power irresistible: and God was pleased to convince him of his folly and vanity, not by telling him how scanty his *dominion* was, or how low his *office*; but how weak, frail and perishing his *nature* was; that he was man only, and "not God," and should surely find so by the event. When the Lycaonians, upon the sight of a miracle wrought by St. Paul (Acts xiv, 11), took him and Barnabas for gods, they did not think so much of *dominion*, as of power and ability beyond human; and when the apostles answered them, they did not tell them that their *dominion* was only human, or that their *office* was not divine, but that they

had not a divine nature; they were weak, frail, and feeble men, of like infirmities with the rest of their species, and therefore no *gods*." Waterland's Works, Vol. I, p. 305.

The two considerations mentioned by Dr. L. do not, it appears to me, in any way "fortify" the inference he derived from his fanciful grammatical test, in favor of God's being a relative term, which raises so very slight a presumption in its favor, that it left, I suspect, on the minds of most of his readers, the whole weight of the proposition to be sustained by these subsequent considerations.

In answer to the simple authority on which he relies—that of Sir Isaac Newton—I will take the liberty to quote a paragraph or two from a very clever and excellent review of the Doctor's "Argument," which was published in the China Mail of the 23d May, 1850. The Reviewer says, "The third fortification is 'the great authority of Newton.' The quotation from the Scholium of the Principia is in point, and seems to agree with the Doctor's view, but can not corroborate it. Newton, beyond the limits of abstract and natural science, becomes as another man. Does not the Doctor feel this in reading his conjecture respecting prophecy, and his tracts on 'Those two noted corruptions of Scripture?' If he adhere to Newton in all these things, from the convictions of reason, will he not bring the great author to the same test here, according to the maxim quoted by himself, *non enim tam auctoritatis in disputando, quam rationis momenta querenda sunt*?"

"But is it not this philosopher's sole object to refute the doctrines of the Epicureans, who believed in the existence of inactive deities, and the Stoics and others who held to *anima mundi*? Newton is maintaining, we apprehend, a question of *facts*, and not of the *application of words*. He does not wish to prove that the term *God* is equivalent to the term *Lord*, but that God is the Lord, the universal Ruler over a dominion distinct from himself, which the ancient philosophers denied.

"Again; in the Scholium on his profound contemplations on the works of God, Sir Isaac naturally views the Infinite One as the God of nature, and not as the self-existent, prior to all secondary beings. A plurality of objects is necessary to constitute relation, but when God dwelt alone, He sustained no relations, and the term applied to Him in that state is not a relative. Newton says, 'a being without dominion however perfect, is not the Lord God;' but God he surely was without a creature and without a subject. If Newton had been writing a book of synonyms, he would not have defined the word *God* merely by *Lord*, and made the term relative because another title of the same being necessarily implies relation."

There is one thing to be admired in Dr. Legge's "Argument"—he lays aside so entirely the indefinite style, in which the "advocates of *tí* and its cognates" have conducted their part of the controversy, and speaks his mind out fearlessly and fully. Dr. Medhurst, as we have seen, contented himself with saying that "the Supreme in their estimation is variously designated *T'ien*, *T'í*, or *Shángtí*;" and "by *T'í* the Chinese mean the Supreme God so far as they are acquainted with him." Supreme god here may mean, either the chief god of a polytheistic system, or the God over all, the true God: most readers would perhaps understand it in the last sense. Dr. M. however, in his Reply to Dr. Boone's Essay, says that the Chinese know as little of the true God as the Greeks did, and that they have *never conceived* of a self-existent, almighty Being who made heaven and earth; and in his Letter of the 13th January, 1850, "that when he employs the Chinese phrase *Shángtí* as the name of God, in preaching, he does not use it as even alluding to any being with whom the Chinese are acquainted. Dr. Legge speaks out fully and at once on this subject: he rejoices "to acknowledge in the *Shángtí* of the Chinese classics, and the *Shángtí* of the Chinese people, Him who is God over all, blessed for ever."

What Dr. Medhurst's opinion of the meaning of the phrases *Shángtí* and *T'í* is, I have found it difficult to decide from reading his Inquiry, his Reply, or the Letter of January 30th. Dr. Legge speaks his opinion out fully: "*T'í* means Ruler; it may be the Supreme Ruler, or it may be any other." p. 28. Of the phrase *Shángtí*, he says, "Separate its constituent characters, and we shall translate them 'Supreme Ruler.' "*T'ientí* 天帝" he says, "simply denotes, in itself, the Heavenly ruler, or Heaven's ruler."

Dr. L. on p. 22, defining appellative or general names, says, "If the idea be of a *dignity* or *office* common to many individuals, it is a relative term." The class denominated by the Chinese word *tí*, he here designates by the word *ruler*; they are therefore classed together because of a "common office or dignity;" thus he sustains the view of this word taken in my Essay, pp. 79, 80, 83, in opposition to that of Dr. Medhurst, as expressed in his Inquiry, p. 110, "The inference therefore is that *tí* is *descriptive* of a class of beings beginning with the highest and passing down to inferior divinities, and is therefore generic for *god* in Chinese."*

* In a paper drawn up by Dr. Medhurst when he was proposing to use *tí* with a definition, as mentioned by him on page 6 of the letter of January 30th, 1850, the definition he proposed to use is as follows:—"In this book (the New

Dr. L. has so fully persuaded himself of the truth of this proposition, and of the fact that he has demonstrated its truth, that he risks, and acknowledges that he risks, his whole cause for *Shángtí* upon his correctness in maintaining it and another proposition, viz., that the word *god* is *mis-used*, if applied to any other being than the Supreme Being. He speaks out here in the same decided manner which we have admired before:—"I may be permitted to intreat my readers to consider well the fundamental positions on which I have constructed the argument. If these be sound, solid rock—the presumption is that the building reared on them must stand. For myself, I can say, that if the two propositions (those just mentioned) in which I have summed up the preliminary discussion, can be unsettled, I shall feel at once that I must gird up my loins afresh, and commence anew my inquiries for a term in the Chinese language to correspond to the term *God*," p. 41. And in a previous part of the "Argument," after telling us in a passage already quoted, that, "as surely as corn that grows from the bosom of the earth is from God, so also is language that grows up out of the mind of man," he thus warmly expresses his sense of the great impropriety of using a generic term to render a relative: "Change that mind, and you will change the nature of language. Depose the old laws that since the creation have governed the association of ideas, and introduce new ones in their room, and we may use terms of classes" (generic absolute-appellative) "for relative terms. In a word let us make the Chinese, and also ourselves, from being men into beings of a new class—then, *and not till then*, can we employ the character *Shin*" (because generic) "to render *Elohim* or *God*." Dr. Legge thus declares an interminable, internecine war between absolute and relative terms. If the general verdict shall be that *God* is an

Test.) *wherever Tí occurs*, it is not used in the sense of *human rulers*, but in the sense of *celestial rulers*, and spiritual beings generally worshiped by men. There is however but one *Tí*, the maker of heaven and earth, most honorable and without compare, besides whom no other ought to be worshiped; we therefore call him *Tí*."

In the preamble that precedes this definition, Dr. Medhurst stated, as he and his friends maintain in their letter of the 30th January, that "Messrs. Medhurst, Stronach and Milne contend, as they have always done, that *Tí* is employed in the Chinese classics and other writers, to denote God by way of eminence; while it is used also with reference to other beings worshiped by the Chinese." From this definition, we learn the sense in which they understand the word to be *employed*, when it denotes "God by way of eminence," viz., "the Ruler by way of eminence," "the celestial Ruler." They say, "Wherever *Tí* occurs" in the New Test., they use it in the sense of "celestial rulers," not "human rulers;" it is plain therefore that they consider the meaning of the word to be "*ruler*" not *god*, and that "celestial ruler" is taken as a general equivalent to the words *God*, *god*, *gods*.

absolute appellative, and not a relative term, the fate of *Shángtí*, Dr. L. admits, is decided; indeed he has precluded himself from saying one word in favor of using it as the rendering of *Elohim* (regarded as absolute) unless he hereafter discovers that "*tí*, ruler" is absolute. If then the reader, who does not understand Chinese, wishes to have the issue upon which this question, viz., Whether *Shángtí* should or should not be used to render *Elohim*? presented to him in such a way that he needs no knowledge of Chinese to enable him to judge for himself, Dr. L. here brings the matter perfectly within his reach. He admits that *tí* means *ruler*, and that the whole case turns on the decision of the point, Are *God* and *ruler* both relative terms or not? If then the reader should conclude that *God* and *ruler* differ in the one being an absolute term and the other a relative, he may conceive, from the lively picture given us by Dr. L. above, what sad consequences would follow from rendering *Elohim* and Θεός by *Shángtí*. And if he wishes to realize more fully the sad consequences that would follow from such a rendering, let him read over the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, substituting the words "Supreme Ruler" and "Supreme Rulership," for the words "God" and "Godhead" wherever they occur; and we think he will be as firmly convinced that "Supreme Ruler" and "Supreme Rulership" (i. e. *Shángtí*) will never answer as the rendering of the words "God" and "Godhead," as Dr. Legge can be of the correctness of the point on which he "takes his stand."

Dr. Legge confounds the *name* with the *being*. The Being we call *God* sustains numerous relations to us and to other beings, and when we wish to refer to these relations, we call him Creator, Ruler, Father, &c.; but these relations are not implied in the name *God*, as he was *God* before these relations had any existence. And from this fact, that *God* sustains to us not one, but many relations, we derive an additional argument against the use of any relative term to render this word. Relative terms can *strictly* and *properly* be used to designate only a single relationship. Dr. Whateley defines them as follows: "When any object is considered as a part of a whole, viewed in reference to the whole or to another part, of a more complex object of thought, the noun expressing this view is called *relative*; and to *relative* noun is opposed *absolute*, as denoting an object considered as a whole: Thus "father" and "son" are relatives, being regarded each as a part of *the complex object* father-and-son; the same object designated absolutely would be termed a *man*," &c.

This complex object of thought is changed in every new relation, so

that if we have occasion to speak of several relations sustained by the same subject, we must designate the subject of which we would predicate these relations, by its absolute name, the name by which we call "an object when considered *as a whole*," and not by the name of any of these relations. For instance, we may say, 'This man is my father, her husband, his uncle, &c., &c.; he is a lawyer, merchant, European, Englishman, &c., &c.; but we could not predicate all these several relationships of this same subject, if we designated him by the name of any one of these relations. We could not say, 'This father is a husband, uncle, lawyer, Englishman, &c. So here, I contend, we can not, as the rendering of the word *God*, use the name of any one of the relations he sustains to us (*e. g.* Supreme Ruler), because no relative term can be used to express all the various relations that God sustains to us and to his other creatures, as I have illustrated in the case of the word *man*. If Dr. L. should, therefore, succeed in proving to our satisfaction that the Being, whom the Chinese designate by the term *Shángti*, is to be regarded as truly and properly God, I would still object, as I said above, to the use of this phrase to render *Elohim* and Θεός, on the ground that *Shángti* is a relative term, and not the absolute name of this Being.

Relative terms, Dr. L. tells us, express the idea "of a dignity or office common to many individuals; . . . they do not indicate the essence;" it becomes therefore a question of much interest to inquire, what being it is that the Chinese call "the Supreme Ruler," or "Ruler on high." In my Essay I stated that this being was *Tien*, Heaven, the chief god of the Chinese, and that *Shángti* was used as one of the titles of this being.

On this point, Dr. L. is very sensitive. Referring to this opinion of mine, he says, "Turning to the 46th page of the Essay, we find that Dr. Boone, to support the idea he is there advocating, quotes and comments as follows: 'In the *Shí King*, *Siáu-yé*, *Ching-yueh* section, p. 21, we are expressly told that *Shángti* is the God of Heaven, *Shángti t'ien chí shén yé* 上帝天之神也.' This is wonderful. Heaven is the chief god of the Chinese. Then *Shángti* is the god of the chief god. 'Vail bonnet,' as Chillingworth says, O chief god, to *your* chief. It does not matter though your chief be only your own title. 'Thus and thus 'we are expressly told,' and though it seems rather an unreasonable requisition to you, there is no help for it. 'Ah, chief god! I am afraid you are like some great men upon the earth, vain of their little elevation, and worshipers of their sounding titles!' He then with great naïveté adds, "I really do not know in

what better or more *kindly* way, to expose as truth demands, the erroneousness of such rash statements as that I am now animadverting on."

My statement, which is no obnoxious to Dr. Legge, contains two points; first, that *Shángtí*, "the Supreme Ruler" is *T'ien*, heaven; and 2dly, that this *T'ien* is the chief god of the Chinese. Is the first point correct? If we turn to the Dictionary of Káng-hí, we find *Shángtí* thus explained:—*Shángtí t'ien yé*, 上帝天也 the Supreme Ruler is Heaven."

If we turn to Dr. Medhurst's Inquiry, we shall find that he devotes the whole of his second section to the proof of this point, viz., "*Ti*, or *Shángtí* is said to be synonymous with 天 *t'ien*, Heaven.... Imperial heaven and *Shángtí* both refer to Heaven, the difference is only in the variation of the expression; the mode of *expression* is different, but the subject matter is the same." Vol. XVII. p. 122.

That Heaven is the divinity, Dr. Medhurst makes the foundation fact of his argument to prove that *Ti* or *Shángtí* means God. "The word which most readily conveys to the Chinese the idea of Divinity is 天 *T'ien*, Heaven: and yet in defining Heaven, they do not say that it is the Being who is the special object of religious worship; but say that Heaven is the one great One who dwells on high and regulates all below. They call Heaven the great Framer, from whom all things originally come, who disposes of all things according to his own decree; in short, in the words of Morrison, Heaven is the unknown God of Confucius. In illustrating anything as divine, the Chinese do not say that it is an object of religious worship, but that it resembles Heaven; when they wish to say that *Ti* means *God*, they assert that *Ti* is synonymous with Heaven, and is one of the names of Heaven; when they wish to exalt their living monarchs by ascribing the most exalted epithets to them, they call their emperor Heaven, or the Divinity; his throne is Heaven's throne; his presence Heaven's countenance; his envoys, Heaven's messengers; and his troops, Heaven's soldiers, &c. When they intend to pay divine honors to imperial ancestors after death, they 以之配天 associate them with Heaven in sacrifice." Reply, Vol. XVII. p. 557.

Again: "The most usual method is to speak of this Being, under the simple designation of *T'ien* 天 Heaven; by which they do not intend the visible heavens, but the being who presides over all, or in other words, the Divinity." *Ibid.* p. 516.

"*Ti* is one of the names of Heaven (or the Divinity in the estimation of the Chinese); the reason why Heaven is called *Ti* is because *ti* means to judge; this application of the word signifies that Heaven

is *widely extended over all*, without any private feeling, &c., &c." *Ib.* p. 494. On the next page, explaining the sentence, which is from Káng-hí's Dictionary, he says, "A name is that by which a thing is called, the appellation of the being referred to: *that being* is *T'ien* 天, the Divinity in the estimation of the Chinese, and *Ti* being *one of his names*, it is equivalent to God in western languages." Dr. Medhurst here certainly regards *T'ien* as the proper name of this being, and *tí* as one of his appellative names, which appellative, Dr. Legge contends, is a name of dignity, or office, a relative term.

That "the Supreme Ruler" is, in the opinion of the Chinese, "Heaven," is so universally admitted, that I can not suppose this is the very rash statement that Dr. Legge feels called upon so indignantly to expose. We must then next consider what the Chinese understand by the word *t'ien*. In answer to the question, what is the meaning of the character 天 in the *king* and classics generally (經傳), Ch'ú fútsz' replies, "Men must see and distinguish for themselves; sometimes it means the material heavens (蒼蒼); sometimes it means the ruling power (主宰) and sometimes merely destiny, fate 理." In my Essay, I gave the following explanation of the meanings of *t'ien*:—

"From the earliest antiquity to the present times, the two highest objects of veneration in the national rites of China have been called *Tien* 天 Heaven, and *Ti* 地 Earth; and to the worship of these two objects, a sacrifice called *kiáu* 郊, offered at the winter and summer solstices, has, from time immemorial, been appropriated.

"The question that occurs to every one upon learning this fact is, Do the Chinese understand by these words the visible heavens and earth upon which they tread, or are the words used by metonymy, for the invisible beings who preside over heaven and earth respectively? To this, we answer, it is conceded on all hands, we believe, that the material objects are not the objects of worship; and that the words, when used as the names of objects of worship, are employed metaphorically. What then is the object definitely designated by the word *t'ien* 天 heaven, the highest of the objects worshiped in the national rites?

"To this question two different answers may be given, according as regard is had to one or the other of two opinions held by Chinese of different sects, on this point. During the Sung dynasty (about A.D. 1100) there sprung up a sect of philosophers to whom the Romish missionaries have given the name of *atheo-politique*, and to whose views great prominence has been given in all the editions of the classical works published during the present dynasty. This sect would answer the question, what is meant by *Tien*? as follows: *Tien* 天 is *Shángti*, 上帝, the Ruler on high; and *Shángti* is *li* 理, the rule of order, destiny, fate.

"There is another class, however, who we conceive, represent the polytheists of China, and the old views of the state religion, as represented in the *Chau Li* (Ritual of the Chau dynasty, B. C. 1100), who answer as follows: The *T'ien* worshiped at the winter solstice is *T'ien chi shin* 天之神 the God of heaven, and this *T'ien chi shin* 天之神 is *Shángti*, the ruler on high."

"It will be observed that according to both of the opinions above expressed, the word Heaven is used metaphorically, and that 天, the title of *Shángti* 上帝 the Ruler on high, is given by both parties; but the one party so explain their views as to lead to a mere lifeless principle *li*; what they say 'neither wills nor wishes, acts, nor does,' while the other party leads us to polytheism, and to regard the *Tien chi chin* 天之神, the *Shin* of heaven, and the *ti chi ki* 地之祇 the *Ki* (*Shin*, as he is also called) of the earth, as the two greatest gods in their pantheon."—Vol. XVII. page 34.

It will be observed that in the above view I omitted one of the meanings of *T'ien* given by *Chú fútsz'*, viz., that which regards it as the material heavens. I did so, because "it was conceded on all hands," i. e. by all discussing the subject at the time my Essay was written, "that the material objects are not the objects of worship." There are four or five views of this subject, which can all be sustained by competent Chinese authority. 1st. That of Dr. Morrison, that, in the Chinese state religion, the material universe as a whole, and in detail, is worshiped; and that subordinate thereto they have gods, celestial and terrestrial, and ghosts infernal." See above, p. 38; which view, we saw, was also that of M. Visdelou. It can be clearly shown that this is the only sense the word will bear in many parts of the classics, where the production of all things is ascribed to heaven and earth; and that it is the material heavens many writers have in mind, when they speak of heaven as the object worshiped in the *kiáu*. Take, as a proof of this, the names "expansive heaven," "bright heaven." The explanation given of the phrases is material. Thus Ching-shí Nghoh's explanation of the words *háu* and *sháng*: "Because of the immensity of its substance (氣 i. e. amount of primary matter which it has), we call [the ruling power] *Háu T'ien*, Expansive Heaven: because its ruling seat is on high, we call it (the power, above called Expansive Heaven) *Shángti*, i. e. the Ruler on high. See Essay, Vol. XVII. p. 45.

It is owing to this we suppose, that Dr. Medhurst, as great a stickler as he is for the doctrine that *T'ien* is the Divinity, the Supreme Being in the estimation of the Chinese, yet says, "The idea they (the Chinese) had of God, was of an originating, overshadowing, protecting,

and governing something." Reply, &c. p. 553. And in his Inquiry: "This application of the word *tí*, judge, signifies that Heaven is *widely extended over all*," &c. page 110. And at page 128, (where he maintains that *Shángtí* is not merely the supreme God of the Chinese, their chief god, &c.) he says, "To all this it will be sufficient to answer, that the Chinese represent the being referred to as, with respect to supreme authority and universal dominion, synonymous with Heaven: now Heaven is *not supreme over one nation but all nations; it over-spreads the whole world*, and is looked to with reverence by every one; therefore we conclude that by Heaven is not meant the chief god of the Chinese, but the supreme ruling power, known and acknowledged in China and everywhere else; the word being used in almost every nation by metonymy for God." But I shall not pursue this subject, as my object at present is not to sustain any one of these views; and this view of the subject has been sufficiently presented by Dr. Morrison and M. Visdelou in the quotations made from them as given above.

The second view is that which regard *Tien*, "the Supreme Ruler" as *Tàu*, the Primitive Reason, or *li*, destiny, fate. This is the view of the other political school, whose views have also been sufficiently presented above, and are most easy of illustration, as they are made very prominent in all the editions of the classics published during this dynasty.

The third, fourth, and fifth views agree in that they regard "the Supreme Ruler" as *Tien chi Shin* 天之神 "the Shin of Heaven," but differ in the method of understanding the words *heaven* and *shin*. The view taken in the part of my Essay quoted by Dr. Legge is that heaven is here used as the name of a place, and *shin* as the name of the spiritual being, the god, who presides in, or rules over this place; the proper name of which god is *Tien*, Heaven, and his distinctive title *Shángtí*, "the Supreme Ruler," or "the Ruler on high," as this phrase is rendered by some Chinese.

It is clearly shown, I think, in my Essay that this is the opinion held by some of the writers quoted by me, who I suppose, represent the views of the polytheists. This view of *Tien*, as the proper name of *this shin*, and *Shángtí* as *his* distinctive title, is borne out by the case of the *Wú Tí* 五帝 Five Rulers. These, Dr. Medhurst allows, are gods, and that they are the *shin* 'who preside over' the five elements; now these *Shin* are distinguished by proper names, *Ling-wei ngáng*, *Chih-piau-nú*, &c., and by the titles "Azure Ruler, Vermilion Ruler," &c. See Essay, p. 77. This is the view which Dr. Legge endeavors

to render ridiculous in his off-hand way. The view may or may not be correct; and if it has, to the reader's mind, anything ridiculous in it, when correctly presented, I am perfectly willing to encounter his ridicule for holding such a view; but I think I was entitled to have my own view presented by Dr. L., when he wished to show that it was absurd, and not another view substituted instead thereof.*

The fourth view is that of the pantheists. *Tien* is viewed as a compound being, and *Shin* as the informing divinity or spirit. The word *divinity* or *spirit*, may be regarded as either abstract—signifying the divine energies of *Tien*; or concrete—the spirit, soul of this compound being. Dr. Medhurst thus represents these views:—explaining a Chinese sentence, which he thus renders, “*Shángtí* is the same as Heaven; if we were to collect together [in thought] the spiritual energies of Heaven, and speak of it (*i. e.* the collection) we should call it *Shángtí*,” he says, “The way in which the Chinese represent it is something like the following:—*Shángtí* is *Tien*, Heaven, or the Divinity. The *shin* or spiritual energies of Heaven, are diffused throughout all nature; when viewed only as producing wind and rain, such portion of the celestial energies, if personified, would be called 風伯 *Fung Peh* the Manager of the Wind, or 雨師 *Yü Sz'*, the Director of Rain; or if viewed as guiding the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and the various seasons, would be 六宗 *Luh Tsung*, the Six honored Ones. But supposing all the spiritual energies of heaven collected into one and personified, the name attached to the individual possessing in himself all celestial energies, would be *Shángtí*.† Should it be objected that

* Dr. L.'s misrepresentation of my view was, I have no doubt, unintentional, and arose from not adverting to the explanation given of this matter in the previous part of my Essay. Though he renders the word *shin*, *Spirit*, and *I God*, yet he understands the word *t'ien* just as I do, and adopts substantially the same explanation of the passage that I gave, as we shall see immediately below. I say the same, because I can not suppose that Dr. L. regards the “Spiritual Being” who “possesses this supreme power,” and *who is* the *Shángtí* (“Supreme Ruler”) whom he believes to be “God over all,” as only the spirit or soul of the compound Being *Tien*. Whether a spiritual Being possessing such power and dominion should be called a *god* or not, let the reader judge. If we are content to take Dr. L.'s opinion, we must regard this *Shin* as “God over all, blessed for ever.”

† This view seems to agree with that set forth by St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*. Lib. IV. Cap. XI.

The subject of the chapter is “*De multis diis, quos doctores Paganorum unum eundem que Jovem esse defendunt.*” We select only a few sentences. “*Quotquot libet igitur physicis rationibus et disputationibus asserant: modo sit Jupiter corporei hujus mundi animus, qui universam istam molem ex quatuor, vel quot eis placet, elementis constructam atque compactam implet et movet; modo sit æther, ut ærem Junonem subterfusam de super amplectatur;modo autem (ne sit necesse per cuncta discere) deus unus de quo multi a poeta nobilissimo dictum putant.*”

in this way there would be two divinities, Heaven and Shángtí, we reply in the words of the Chinese writer, that *Shángtí* and *Heaven* are the same." See Reply, Vol. XVII. p. 547.

The views of another class he gives us at p. 551 :—" Dr. Boone then (p. 49) alludes to the prayers used in the national worship, according to the 周禮 Ritual of Chau, and affirms that those prayers were addressed to the *Shin*, *Kwei*, and *Kí*, adding that they were presented at a time when the people sacrificed to heaven, earth, and ancestors. From this we perceive that the objects sacrificed to were the great powers of nature, with deceased progenitors; and that *Shin*, *Kwei*, and *Kí*, were the spirits of those objects, sometimes used elliptically for the objects themselves. The annual prayer for grain was said to be offered to Shángtí, from which we are left to infer that Shángtí is included among the spiritual beings to whom prayers were offered; to all which we have no objection to offer. But from neither statement are we entitled to infer that the spirits of the object sacrificed to were the gods of those objects, or that all spiritual beings are gods, because Shángtí is reckoned among them. It appears from the whole that the Chinese prayed to heaven, earth, and deceased men, for certain blessings;* showing that they considered these capable of conferring the

Deum namque ire per omnes,

Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum :

Ipse in æthere sit Jupiter, ipse in aëre Juno, ipse in mari Neptunusin terra Pluto, in terra inferiore Proserpina, in focus domesticis Vesta, in fæbrorum fornace Vulcanus, in sideribus sol et luna, et stellæ, in divinantibus Apollo, etc.hi omnes dii deæque sit unus Jupiter."

The reader will observe that it is Shángtí and Jupiter, the chief god of each system, who is thus made the universal, impersonal power, recognized under different names, according to the different offices or works performed by this power. The sentence which Dr. Medhurst here explains was translated in my Essay on the supposition that *shin* was here used as a concrete noun; I am now satisfied that Dr. M. took the more correct view in regarding it as abstract. As the management of the heavenly bodies, &c., however, is rather a divine than a spiritual function, I should prefer to render 天之神 "divine energies," and not "spiritual energies" as Dr. M. has done.

* If Dr. Medhurst's view is correct, that the Chinese worshiped, in the times of the Chau dynasty, B.C. 1100, heaven, earth, and deceased men, and conceived of the heaven and earth so worshiped as material beings possessed of spirits or souls; it is a great confirmation of the opinions of Dr. Hales and Mr. Faber mentioned above. I may mention that, by demonolatry, both those writers mean the worship, not of devils, but dead men. Dr. Medhurst's theory expressed above, that the Chinese addressed their prayers to, and honored by their worship, the material and not the spiritual part of the object worshiped, seems very strange: take the case of the earth, for instance; that they prayed to the mud, and not to the spirit animating this compound being. May we not better suppose that the class of writers, whose views Dr. M. is here stating, conceive of heaven and earth, the sun, moon, stars, &c., in a manner answering to Cudworth's animalish gods, in which case they would regard the whole compound being as their god—the object prayed to and worshiped.

good things they sought. But we may observe that heaven, earth, and ancestors were *the beings* on whom they relied, and their spirits were prayed to *only as connected with those beings*. They would not have prayed to the *kwei*, if those *kwei* had not belonged to their own ancestors. So also they would not have called upon the *shin* and *k'i*, if they had not belonged to heaven and earth; which great *powers of nature were the objects of their worship*."

Thus we see there are four or five views taken of this subject by different Chinese writers, and there may be as many more for all I know. The holders of these views all agree in calling *t'ien*, *Shángti*, "the Supreme Ruler," whether they understand by this name *t'ien*, on the one hand the material heavens, or a lifeless, senseless, principle; or on the other, the *shin* of heaven, *i. e.* a spiritual being, a god, who resides in or rules over heaven; or the informing divinity, spirit, or soul of the compound being called Heaven, or the divine energies of heaven—all agree in calling *t'ien*, in whichever of these ways they understand the word, "the Supreme Ruler." This shows that *Shángti* is, as Dr. L. contends, a relative term, and does "not indicate the *essence*, or express anything of the *being*" of the supreme ruling power; and it has been for the purpose of illustrating this important point, much more than to defend myself against the ridicule of Dr. Legge, that I have thus commented at length on his remarks on my views of *Shángti* and *T'ien*.

From the views of the Chinese writers introduced above, another fact is apparent which is worthy of our especial notice: it is that the *only ray of theism* that breaks in upon us from these various explanations of *t'ien*, is through the word *shin*. From the phrases "Expansive Heaven, the Supreme Ruler" (with its immense *k'i* 氣 substance and ruling seat on high), and *Tau*, Primitive Reason, and *ti*, destiny, fate, we get no indication that *T'ien*, the Supreme Ruler is "an understanding being" (to use Cudworth's phrase): it is

When we address a man, we surely do not anatomize him after Dr. M.'s method, and consider whether we are speaking to the material or immaterial part of him. If by the *shin* and *k'i* here referred to, we understand the independent, separate spiritual beings, who preside over heaven and earth, it is as easy to understand why they are considered more honorable and more powerful than any of the other *Shin*, as it is to understand why his Imperial Majesty, the Hwángtí 皇帝, is considered more honorable and more powerful than any other man. It is not as a mere man, that he is made so much an object of honor, but as the ruler of so great a nation: So here, the *shin* of heaven, who is called Shángtí 上帝 is not superior to the other *shin*, on the score merely of being a *shin*; but is regarded as the chief of the *shin*, and the Supreme Ruler over them all, because of his impertum—heaven.

only when we come to those explanations in which *shin* is used, that the Divinity of *T'ien* becomes possible; and in these explanations, *Shángtí* is neither more nor less than *this shin* 上帝天之神也. "*Shángtí* is the *shin* of Heaven." If *this shin* be a separate, independent being, *ruling over heaven*, a god, *Shángtí* is *this god*. If *this shin* be the soul of the compound being *T'ien*, *Shángtí*, according to our explanation, is *this soul*. If *this shin* be merely the divine or spiritual energies of *T'ien*, *Shángtí* is the title by which it pleases pantheists to designate *these energies*. As long as *Shángtí* is defined to be "the *shin* of heaven," the phrase "the Supreme Ruler" must stand or fall with the meaning we attach to *shin*. *Ti*, ruler, does not "indicate the essence," nor "express anything of the being."

It is not easy to determine which of the above views of *shin*, Dr. L. adopts. I should suppose however, it is the one I have placed third, and which he has ridiculed me for rendering "god of heaven." He explains the matter thus: "There is indeed some little perplexity in the way in which the Chinese speak of Heaven, which can only be explained by adopting the conclusion of Dr. Medhurst, 'that by Heaven is not meant the chief god of the Chinese, but the supreme ruling power, known and acknowledged in China and everywhere else; the word being also used in every nation by metonymy for God.'" (Inquiry, p. 128.) Dr. L. continues, "*Shángtí* is the *T'ien chí Shin*, the the spirit that possesses this Supreme Power. The term *Shángtí* declare that possession, and express the meaning of God unadulterated, without diminution and without increase. The very nature of the term declares that it is not a proper name. It is relative, and I appeal to my missionary brethren whether the idea which they get from the characters themselves, and which they know the multitude of the Chinese to get, does not terminate in the Spiritual Being (*shin*) so denominated, instead of leading away their minds to the God Heaven, as the "*substans*," or "*ens*," in which the power is to inhere."

On this explanation, I shall offer two or three remarks. First, Dr. L. considers the *shin* of heaven to be the spirit that possesses *supreme power*; with what right therefore can he complain of my calling this *shin* "the god of heaven?" 2d. This *shin* is called *Shángtí*, which "terms," he says, "declare that possession, and express the meaning of God unadulterated, without diminution and without increase." If this be so, instead of writing "the god of heaven," which Dr. L. complains of, I should have written "the GOD of Heaven." 3d. Dr. L. feels the need of some "*substans*" or "*ens*" in which "the supreme power" indicated by the relative term "Supreme Ruler," "is to in-

here :” and he finds it in the *shin*, the spiritual being here called “ the Supreme Ruler.” If then *god* is an absolute term, the “ nomen ipsius substantiæ,” as Tertullian explains it, Dr. L. here makes *shin* the “ *substans* ” or “ *ens* ” in which this Supreme Power inheres, “ the god of heaven,” and *Shángtí*, the mere title of this god.

If it is my calling *t'ien*, the chief god of the Chinese, instead of calling him, or it, “ God over all, blessed for ever,” that Dr. L. regards as “ the rash statement ” he is bound to expose, I can only plead all I have said in the previous part of this paper, on the cosmogony and worship of the Chinese, to show that *Shángtí* is not the true God, in extenuation of my offense. Amidst all the various and conflicting opinions advanced by the Chinese, one fact seems to be certain, viz., that *t'ien* 天 heaven, and *tí* 地 earth, have been worshiped in the *kiáu* sacrifice from the earliest times recorded in their books, and that this is the highest act of worship offered in China. It follows therefore, that these words, whether we are to understand them strictly and properly, or metaphorically, are the names of their two greatest gods. This matter can be put into a nutshell. Unless *T'ien* is the only God, he must be the chief god, or some or all of the other gods must be his equals, or some other god must be superior to him. Which of these will Dr. L. take ? He can not say that *T'ien* is the only god the Chinese have ever acknowledged or worshiped, and he is welcome to any of the other suppositions he prefers. Dr. Medhurst sets up a claim, in behalf of the Chinese, for a monotheism similar to that which Cudworth claims in behalf of the Greek philosophers ; but his statement is, I think, very rash, and calculated to mislead those unacquainted with the facts of the case—stating these facts, even as Dr. M. has himself stated them in other parts of his writings.

Dr. M.'s statement of the Chinese monotheism is as follows : “ Cudworth thinks that the Greeks were both monotheists and polytheists at the same time ; that is, understanding the word Θεός combined in the two terms in different senses (see Vol. I, p. 374). In the first, as conveying what he calls the natural idea of God, viz., an all-perfect being, the ruler of the universe ; and the other as alluding to certain supposed invisible intelligences, who were the objects of religious worship, but subordinate to the one Supreme. *What Cudworth pleads for in behalf of the Greeks may be allowed to the Chinese*, and they may be considered as monotheists, because they believe in one supreme God, *the Author and Ruler of all.* ” Reply, Vol. XVII, page 490.

Cudworth claims for the monadic Θεός of the Greeks, as Dr. M. himself shows on pp. 553, 554, that he was an absolutely perfect Being,

αγενης, self-existent, the cause of all other beings, and possessing infinite power, &c. Of *Shángti*, Dr. Medhurst admits that he is nowhere said to have "created the heavens and the earth;" and that we do not find that the Chinese predicate of him self-existence, nor do we remember any place in which they expressly describe him as existing from eternity." Again, on p. 553 of his Reply, he writes, "On p. 51, Dr. Boone says, although we admit that the word *shin* is never used by the Chinese to designate the self-existent, almighty Being who made heaven and earth, still we contend that the highest being they have ever conceived of is included in the class called *shin*. We will admit the *first part* of the above statement, because the Chinese have *no idea of such a being* (see Inquiry, p. 109); and there is no need of contending for the latter, as we do not deny it." Knowing these facts, as Dr. M. did, I can not understand how he could write, "What Cudworth pleads for on behalf of the *Greeks* may be allowed to the *Chinese*, and they may be considered as monotheists because they believe in one Supreme God, *the Author and Ruler of all*." Is *Shángti* an absolutely perfect Being, is he the Author of all, of heaven and earth? The whole statement is calculated to mislead those unacquainted with the facts of the case, and is irreconcilable with Dr. M.'s own acknowledgements given above.

The comparing the Chinese *t'ien* or *Shángti* to the Greek *Zeus* or Latin *Jupiter*, does not imply that those who make this comparison suppose there is much similarity in character between the chief gods of these several nations; but what is meant to be affirmed by it is, that they are man-made gods, without holiness, and devoid of those characteristics which distinguish Jehovah, the true God. In some respects the Greek *Zeus* is very superior to the Chinese *T'ien*; they resemble each other in that the one is *Βασιλεus* "king of gods and men," the other is *Shángti*, Supreme emperor, or emperor on high: if there are many acts of *Zeus* unworthy of him, and such as we do not find predicated of *T'ien*, he has, to balance this, a much nobler character in other respects, and an unmistakeable personality. *T'ien*, on the contrary, is a perfect puzzle; impassible, impersonal, and is guilty of no gallantries, and always faithful to *tí* 地 earth, with whom he begat all things;* yet he is as entirely devoid of all holiness as *Zeus* was, and indifferent who shares with him the honor of religious worship.

* To denote this matrimonial relation, *T'ien* in the Chinese cosmogony, is called the *yáng* (male), and *Tí* is the *yín* (female).

ART. II. *Letter to the Editor of the Repository, accompanied with a translation of a Chinese tract upon Nourishing the Spirit* By
W. H. MEDHURST, D. D.

To the Editor of the Chinese Repository,

DEAR SIR, I have the pleasure herewith to forward you the translation of a paper, extracted from the writings of a learned man recently deceased in KIÁNG-SÍ. This paper forms one of many hundreds which he has left behind him. His posthumous works, amounting to about forty volumes, have been published by his disciples, and are distributed gratuitously. The writer was a genuine modern Chinese philosopher, having derived his ideas solely from native sources, of which his productions are sufficient evidence. The essay now sent exhibits some indications of mental activity, and I have endeavored to give it an English dress, in order to show to your readers that mind is not entirely asleep in China. My principal object, however, is to adduce it as an instance of the way in which the word 神 *shin* is employed by the learned of this country.

Lest any should think I have taken an unfair advantage of my author, I herewith inclose a copy of the original paper. You will perceive that the word in question occurs very frequently, and there can be no doubt that the writer uses it in the sense of *spirit*, including both the human spirit and the invisible beings who are sacrificed to by the Chinese. I may safely challenge the warmest advocate of *shin* in the sense of God to make sense of this paper by thus translating it throughout. One who is firmly opposed to me in this controversy, has made use of something like the following observation: "There are writings in Chinese, in which *shin* is so employed up and down, that a man must be a fool to suppose that it means anything else than spirit." The paper now sent you is in my estimation of that character. Let those who maintain that *shin* means God, and who insist on telling the Chinese that there is only one Shin, look to their position, for it is philologically untenable. Let them come forward, and answer the argument derived from the writings of this Chinese, who as it regards the use of terms is one of millions, and whose *usus loquendi* is established by the practice of thousands of years: if they can not, let them not attempt to force the language of a mighty people, nor presume to instruct a whole nation as to the meaning of their own terms, with which natives are much better acquainted than foreigners can possibly be.

But to come to our author; it is evident, from the very title of his piece, that he uses *shin* primarily in the sense of the human spirit. In all that is said about the Rationalist doctors nourishing their *spiritual energies*, and the proud literati allowing their *minds* to wander after the external objects, there can be no doubt that the writer means by *shin* the *spirit* of the *mind*. When he comes to speak of the prayers that are offered by some to 神明 *spiritual intelligences*, it is evident that the meaning he attaches to the term *shin* is still *spirit*, only in the concrete instead of the abstract sense: and in order to prevent his being mistaken, he calls the one class *spirits* connected with the *seen*, and the other *spirits* belonging to the *unseen* world. These two classes, he says, "*spirits with spirits*," hold intercourse together, without being limited by external form.

On this phrase, Mr. Editor, I am content to rest my argument: 神與神 *spirit with spirit*. That these two words thus coupled together, mean substantially the same thing, no man who is not resolved to maintain his hypothesis, "*malgré* all objections," can reasonably doubt, and there can be no mistake about the application. The one refers, according to the writer's own explanation, to the spirit of the mind, and the other to the spiritual beings whom the Chinese are in the habit of worshiping, and yet both are *shin*,—mistakably *shin*—without any adjunct or qualification, *shin*. The inference from

this is unquestionable; either that the human spirit is absolutely God, or that the beings to whom the Chinese people are in the habit of praying are like their own minds mere spirits, in the sense of being invisible and intelligent, yet more powerful as connected with the unseen world, and more honorable as being the spirits that pervade heaven and earth, and the manes of their deceased ancestors.

I wish to call attention to the proof afforded by the present paper, that *shin*, when in regimen, as the *shin* of any person or thing, does not mean the *god*, but the spirit of that person or thing; witness the expression 人之神 *jin ch' shin*; will any person venture to contend, that this phrase, as used by the Chinese writer, means the *God of a man*? What, when the author says, that a man's *shin* is incapable of perceiving anything but what takes place in his own body, and what is cognizable to his senses? Is this his *God*? A pretty divinity truly, which knows nothing except what comes through the media of sensation and reflection exercised by the man's self! The person who would imagine this to be his God, must himself be what the Chinese call 神思不足 *shin sz' puh tsuh*. But there is another expression of the same kind, to which

I would call particular attention, viz. 吾之神 *wú chí shin*. This is a phrase which the advocates of *shin* have used, and to be consistent, must use in the sense of "my God;" but see how the Chinese employ it? If 吾心之神 *wú sín ch' shin* the spirit of my mind, can only become acquainted with what comes in contact with my eyes and ears, hands and feet; then that which is not cognizable to the senses can not have any communication with 吾之神 *wú chí shin*. Here it is evident that the writer means by *wú chí shin*, my spirits, and no ingenuity can torture the phrase into meaning "my God." But suppose we thus understand it, then what absurdities are we landed in! That which is not cognizable to my senses can not have any communication with, or be communicated to, my God! Is this a being a man would wish to choose for his God? A being that can know nothing but what comes to him through the medium of a man's own senses? A being whose knowledge is as limited as my own, and acquainted only with that which flesh and blood reveals! Let those who will, choose such a being for their divinity, he shall never be my God. Now all this absurdity a man must admit who would insist upon it, that *wú chí shin* means "my God." It is of no use any longer for our opponents to contend that the Chinese would not understand the phrase "*wú chí shin*," in the sense of "my spirit." Here is a Chinese who *does* so understand it, and who would be astonished if any one were to pretend to understand it otherwise. The remarks of the American Missionary, who lately gave us his thoughts (see page 201 &c.) on the proper term to be employed to translate Elohim and Theos were just, when he said, that the beautifully expressive phrases, My God, &c., can not be translated intelligibly by *shin*: the objection urged by an intelligent Chinese was not without its weight, that the passage "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" were *shin* employed as the rendering of God, would present to his mind the idea of a person sensible of the approach of insanity, and exclaiming, "My senses, my senses, why are you leaving me?"

The remark of the abovenamed writer, that the God of Abraham, &c., could not be intelligibly rendered, if *shin* were employed, is also borne out by the phrases used by this Chinese Essayist; for we meet with the expression 周公之神 *Chau kung ch' shin*, and 高宗之神 *K'au-tsung ch' shin*, which are not used in the sense of the God, but of the spirit, of these individuals. So also with 聖人之神 *shing jin ch' shin*, in the sense of the spirit, not the God of the sages. Thus 亞伯拉罕之神 *Aph-lá-hán ch' shin* would undoubtedly mean the "spirit of Abraham."

In the course of his paper the Chinese author speaks of his *shin*, in the same language precisely as western writers speak of *spirit*. It has its origin in the mighty Infinite, and is the opposite of *body* and *form*. This incorporeal and invisible *spirit* is with difficulty comprehended; it is the most mysterious of all things; without haste it is rapid, without moving it arrives at its point, it can not be intercepted by intervening objects, it can penetrate both metals and minerals, it can not be described as either far or near, it can mount up to the heights of heaven, and dive into the depths of the earth. The spirit associates with spirit in a manner incomprehensible by those who are engrossed by material things, and yet it is the spirit with which men are born into the world, the spirit which animates them—and the spirit which they are to cultivate; in some it is neglected and can not retain its seat, but gets subverted and overturned, as in the case of one foolish, drunk, or dreaming; and in others it can soar aloft till it hold intercourse with the spirits of heaven and earth—or with the Supreme. Surely, if ever there were two corresponding terms, in languages so dissimilar as the Chinese and English, none ever suited each other so exactly as do *shin* and *spirit*.

Suppose then a Chinese theologian endeavoring to prove, to his countrymen the divinity of the Savior, were to bring forward the clearest evidence that Jesus is a *shin*—what would he have gained? He would have proved that Jesus originally was, and now is, an invisible, intelligent being. That which every inhabitant of the celestial world, every disembodied human soul, yea, every mischievous sprite is equally with the blessed Savior, i. e. a *spirit*. There is nothing in the term *shin* that would raise the individual claiming it above the nature of angels or human spirits. Jesus may be really and truly a *shin*, as the Chinese understand the term, and yet be far, infinitely far, from possessing a Divine nature. What a door would this open for the future Arians and Socinians of the celestial empire? And how would the stoutest defender of our Lord's divinity be able to shut the mouth of a Chinese objector who should say, "Is Jesus a *shin*? that, as it regards my mental constitution, am I: wherein does your boasted sage exceed?" Let the advocates of *shin* reflect on this, and think on what dangerous ground they are treading.

Having undertaken to write you on the subject of the controversy which has so long been discussed in the periodicals of this country, I can not close without a few remarks on the method adopted by some of the combatants on both sides, in concealing their names. It is rather amusing to see what a number of nameless heroes have gallantly stepped forward, well screened from observation, to have their fling at opponents who really show themselves. First, we have a variety of *articles* on the subject of this controversy in the Repository, not all from the pen of the Editor, without any name attached; then a series of communications from a Correspondent in Ningpo; followed by a Reader, a Constant Reader, an Impartial Reader, a Brother Missionary, an American Missionary, a Lover of plain Common Sense, and Philo; another rejoices in the name of Sciolus (in one sense perhaps not inappropriately); another reviews a pamphlet without owning himself, and not a few come out under the various letters of the alphabet, such as X.Y.Z., Z.Z., L.N.N., to be followed, it may be, by O. Some of these may have withheld their names, in order that their arguments might be left to rest simply on their own basis, unaided by the adventitious influence which might accrue to them from the extensive reputation of the writers; others again, may have been induced to keep their names a secret, lest their announcement should lessen the effects which might otherwise be produced on the public, who look for an extensive acquaintance with a language in those who argue on philological questions. Some might be induced to appear anonymously, in order that when beaten out of their position by the arguments of their opponents, they might be able to carry on the war under another name, and thus avoid the unpleasantness of having to acknowledge their former mistakes; or a single writer may choose to adopt a variety of appellations, in order to induce the impression on the public mind that there are a number of independent advocates on the same side of the question; or a man may wish to aid his cause by alluding to his own writings under another signature. But you will say, we ought not to impute motives to any man, particu-

larly those of a questionable kind. To real men, Mr. Editor, we should not: but would take their *character* as a guaranty for the uprightness of their intentions; but to men who hide themselves, *men of no name*, and consequently no reputation, we are warranted in ascribing such motives which we have ascribed to them, as those which most probably induced them to conceal their names; let them come forward with their real signatures, and tell us their motives for concealment, when we will believe them. But seriously speaking, Mr. Editor, it does appear to me, that in a great controversy like this, where interests of such magnitude are involved, and where evangelical laborers abroad, as well as Missionary and Bible Societies at home, watching with anxiety the progress of the argument, desire to know, and have a right to expect to be made acquainted with, the combatants on both sides, it is every way undesirable that men should conceal their names. We are not like political parties striving to undermine each other's influence, and to build up our own cause on the ruin of our opponents; but earnest men, seeking after the truth, in a most important inquiry connected with the translation of the Holy Scriptures for the most populous nation in the world: anything like a wish to fight under a mask, or avoid discovery, is in my estimation unbecoming the occasion.

And now, I have a word to say regarding the conduct of the Editor of the Repository in this affair. As the conductor of a periodical, it appears to me, that he ought, with reference to this controversy, to act impartially, and to make his publication a vehicle for conveying the sentiments of all. He is of course entitled to his private opinion, and is at liberty to express it editorially. But when a question is started in his pages, and statements are made likely to prejudice any of the controversialists in the eyes of the public, he ought to guard such statements, so as to show that as editor he does not sympathise therewith. Still more, when any of the parties implicated defend themselves, it becomes the editor to give them the benefit of his pages, if in those pages they have been represented, or conceive that they have been represented in an unfavorable point of view. To be explicit. In the No. for July, 1848, the Editor of the Chinese Repository published a letter, entitled "A few Plain Questions addressed to those missionaries, who, in their preaching or writing, teach the Chinese to worship Shāngtí;" signed by "A Brother Missionary." In the course of his letter, the writer asks, "Is not the conclusion irresistible that he who shall worship Shāngtí, or shall teach men so to do, is guilty of breaking the first and chiefest commandment of God?" There were those who, when the letter appeared, considered it likely to prejudice the missionaries who were opposed to the writer very considerably, in the estimation of the public generally, and of the religious Societies who sent them out, in particular. Did the editor approve of the language employed? If not, how came he to admit the letter into his periodical, without qualification or remark? But supposing it to have been done inconsiderately; ought he not, in common justice, to have inserted any reply that might have reached him, from any of the parties who considered themselves aggrieved, that at any rate, the *defense might travel as far as the implied charge*? It was six months after the date of publication before the abovenamed letter reached me; as soon as I saw it, I drew up a Reply to the Few plain Questions of a Brother Missionary, and in order to secure its early appearance among my friends, I had it printed under my own eye. A copy of it was sent among others, to the Editor of the Chinese Repository. Why did he not, if desirous that his readers should hear the other side, give it instant admission to this pages? His periodical had been the medium of circulating the "Questions," and why did he not make it the means of giving equal publicity to the "Reply?" Was the argument badly constructed? Was the spirit in which it was drawn up blame-worthy? Let the public judge. The writer put his own name to it, and was alone responsible for its contents.

But you will say, all this was done during the absence of the present Editor. Be it so. I will now come to some editorial remarks made by the present conductor of the periodical in question. In the number for February, 1850, you, Mr. Editor, have appended a few observations to the anonymous letter of L. N. N. in the course of which you say; "We are not willing that gentlemen standing in the position that Messrs. Mediurst, Stronach, and Milne do as the

delegates of their fellow missionaries to revise the New Testament, should separate themselves from the Committee at large, and assert that the insertion of such a term as *shin* for the translation of *theos*, will render the whole work unclassical and contemptible, without entering a protest against it. Some of those whom they represent believe *shin* to be the best word, all things considered; and to designate the revision by such epithets is unnecessary and unseemly." May I beg of you, Mr. Editor, to explain what you mean by the above paragraph. Have not Messrs. Stronach, Milne, and myself a right to assert what we think to be true? Does the fact of our being delegated by others, or representing others, deprive us of that right? Have we put forth the statement complained of as the opinion of our constituents, for which they are responsible, or as our own? If the latter, what have our constituents to do with it, except to point out its fallacy, if they can? Some of those whom we represent, you say, believe *shin* to be the best word, all things considered, and what of that? Some of them think it to be the worst word, all things considered; are not the latter as much entitled to their opinion as the former, and where is the unseemliness of their asserting it, or of our asserting it for ourselves and them? Even supposing that by so doing we have to separate ourselves from the Committee at large, where would be the harm of that if we thought the Committee at large in the wrong? Surely the men whom you have named, who have been considered by the general sentiment of the missionary body as among those who are the most fit for the work of translation, are entitled to express an opinion on the subject, even though they should differ from *all* their brethren. But they are *not* so situated. One of them is sustained by the united voice of the station which has delegated him, and the others by the unanimous opinion of all the missionaries from the same Society, as well as by the recorded opinion of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that *shin* is not the most appropriate word to be used as a translation of *theos* in the New Testament. They do not therefore stand alone. Or do you, by the General Committee, mean the missionaries who assembled at the original meeting at Hongkong, in 1843? Search the records, and you will find that a majority of the missionaries who were then assembled, and who gave the impulse to the movement for revising the Chinese version of the Scriptures, were opposed to *shin*. But what is it against which you protest? The assertion that "the insertion of such a term as *shin* for the translation of *theos* will render the whole work unclassical and contemptible?" Instead of protesting against this, would it not have been better to try and prove that the use of *shin* as a translation of *theos* in the New Testament, particularly in passages where *theos* is spoken of as possessing infinite power and universal dominion, is in conformity with the usages of the Chinese classics. Those classics do speak of such a being: do they designate him *Shin*? and would not a Chinese classical scholar deem the work, in which such a term was used to designate such a being, contemptible? I again assert it, that the use of *shin* as a translation of *theos* in the New Testament would render the whole work unclassical and contemptible. Now prove the converse of the proposition; and if you can not, your protest is unavailing. But after all, you, or those in whose behalf you enter your protest, only believe *shin* to be the best word, "*all things considered*:" you say also that against *shin*, as well as against other terms, strong arguments might be urged. It seems then you do not esteem your favorite term unexceptionable—that there are strong reasons to be urged against it. And are you then in a position to protest against those who go a little further than you do, and discard it as a translation of *Theos* altogether? Permit me to refer you to the exhortation of a "Brother Missionary," in your number for July, 1848, whose authority you will not question, "This matter is of such grave and solemn import, that I can not conclude without alluding to a precept of great importance in all questions of casuistry, viz., in all doubtful cases take the safe side."

I remain, My dear Sir, Your's faithfully,

Shanghai, June 11th, 1850.

W. H. MEDHURST.

On Yang sin shin 養心神, Fostering the Spirit of the Mind.

THERE is nothing more 靈 intelligent than 神 spirit, but when men do not know how to foster it, then spirits become spiritless, because of their want of intelligence. When men allow the seven passions and the six objects of desire to disturb their spirit, although at the time, their 血氣 bodily powers are most vigorous, and they might otherwise promote the growth of their spiritual energies, yet their spirits remain dark. That their spirits should be dark is still a small matter; but by gratifying every kind of relish and attachment, and by thinking on things that they have no need, and ought not to think of, they leave their spirits without a moment's rest, until their spirits are dissipated and confused, and have no home to return to. Hence the Rationalist doctors laid so much stress on 養神 fostering the spiritual energies, considering that when the spirit was kept still, wisdom would spontaneously spring up; when wisdom sprang up, the virtuous nature decreed to be conferred by heaven, would manifest itself in the very centre of our 心神 mental being; until, without aim and without effort, we might combine in ourselves the natural tendencies to good which emanate from the 太極 Mighty Infinite; thus, by cultivating stillness, they nourished their spiritual energies. Their disciples having missed the original aim, have been despised by the literati and the Buddhists, because they aimed only at nourishing their bodily powers; and their spirits, bright and intelligent though they be, were unable to attain to the virtuous nature conferred by the decree of heaven: all this because they allowed the spirit of emulation to contend within, esteeming themselves to be right and others wrong, consorting only with men of similar views, and opposing all who differed from them, little thinking that that by which we can cause our virtuous nature to expand, until it fills the universe is the human spirit; and that that by which our natural life is enabled to extend its pangs, is also the human spirit.

The modern alchymists however, swallowing medicaments in order to foster their spirits, are very gross in their conceptions, and would never succeed in fostering the same by stillness, without renouncing their sensualities and passions, so as not to be influenced by them. The way in which men enter deeply into the great principles of reason (大道) is by cultivating perfect stillness, when their spirits become settled: as when a sharp bodkin is employed to penetrate substances, there is nothing so hard that it will not perforate. The literati employing their energies in the pursuit of knowledge, and making it their

daily business to increase their acquaintance with things, consider that their 靈 intelligence is sufficient to understand all matters, while they have a pit before them which everybody else can see, and they stalk on till they fall into it. What is the cause of this, but their allowing the 心神 spirit of their minds to gallop away after external objects, like a man occupied with looking at distant mountains, not knowing that his feet have already fallen into a quagmire? The polished scholars of the present day esteem themselves to be the most clever people in the world, and sometimes they are outwitted by men of a very inferior stamp, and entangled in the meshes of their nets, because their spirits are dissipated about external annoyances, and they are unable to cultivate an acquaintance with themselves; all this arises from a want of silent meditation. Others again, seeking to avert calamities and obtain blessings, pray to 神明 spiritual intelligences, because they think that such are intelligent and incomprehensible by mankind, not knowing that the visible and invisible worlds, being separated one from another, the medium whereby 吾之陽神 our spirits in this seen world, can communicate with the invisible spirits of the unseen world, is just because 神與神 spirit with spirits hold intercourse together, without being trammelled by the limits of external form.

Since then our own spirits can hold intercourse with the spirits of the invisible world, it is clear that our spirits must like them be intelligent. Hence it was, that when the ancients offered sacrifices, they fasted to a great extent, in order to settle their own spirits, and then they could hold intercourse with the spirits which pervade heaven and earth, together with the munes of their ancestors. Some however, who insist upon discerning some visible traces of their being, think that the existence of 鬼神 spiritual essences is after all a mere pretense. But when our bodies, from the hair on the head to the sole of the foot, happen to experience the least pain or itching, it is immediately perceived by the mind: the reason of this is, that our spirits, though collected in the heart, pervade at the same time every part of the body. Taking our bodies therefore as a ground of argument, we should say that there is not a separate mind for every part of the head, eyes, hands, and feet; but the heart resides in the centre, and is fully acquainted with every pain, connected with each hair and fibre; it is not necessary for the ear to listen, or the eye to see, or the hand to feel, but the 心神 mind is instantly acquainted with it; as speedily as echo follows sound. If the mind however be absent, a man sees without perceiving, and hears without noticing, because the spirit is taken up with something

else, and impeded by that one thing. The mind is however the same, and when sensation and perception are sometimes different, are we to account that the spirit is different? But how can the spirit be different? The spirit although unobstructed by 形 matter, can not avoid being influenced and enslaved by every partial and private thing it observes; and although pervading the whole body, as that which is general passes through every particular, yet being influenced and enslaved by other things, the spirit can not be in everything perspicuous and clear; but let it be silent and still, then the bite of every little insect on the body is invariably perceived, because their spirit sits there to superintend, and extends its observations to every part.

Hence, when a person wishes to foster his spiritual energies, he must first exclude the observation of what is private and partial, and then his spirit will be in everything perspicuous and clear, but 人之神 the human spirit, with the exception of what takes place in a man's own body, and with the exception of what he sees and hears, is capable of perceiving nothing; how difficult then is it for a spirit connected with the visible world to extend its observations; but the spirits of the invisible world are on the contrary acquainted with everything. If 吾心之神 the spirit of my mind can only become acquainted with what comes in contact with my eyes and ears, hands and feet, then that which is not cognizable to the senses, can not have any communication with 吾之神 my spirit. If then, I can not extend my observations to that which is not in some connection with my body, it follows that there are many 有形者 corporeal things that I can not become acquainted with, how then can I become perfectly acquainted with the invisible world, and 祭禮之神 those spirits which are sacrificed to? The spirit which men have when they are born into the world, has its origin in the Mighty Infinite; although the Mighty Infinite has conferred a variety of forms on the myriad of things, yet there is one 氣 subtle fluid that pervades them all: as in the 元氣 constitution of the human body, one subtle fluid pervades every part of it, and can not be held not to pervade it, because the eyes and ears, the hands and feet have different forms, and are put to different uses. The intelligent man, aware of this, ought not, because of the bodily members, to say, this my body sustains no connection with heaven and earth, men and things. If indeed there were no connection, how is it that the body of each individual must depend on the sustenance of heaven and earth, with the men and things around it, before it can become a body? It is because the one subtle fluid pervades all, that men produce and sustain each other; and since one

subtile fluid pervades all, is spirit alone to be held as not pervading all? But the pervadings of this incorporeal and invisible spirit, can not be comprehended in the mind, unless that mind be kept perfectly still; and such matters are with difficulty perceived and believed, unless a man's contemplations are deep, and his mind unprejudiced and intelligent. Spirit may be held to be the most mysterious of all things: without haste it is rapid, without moving, it arrives at its point: it can not be intercepted by intervening objects; it can penetrate both metals and minerals, and can not be described as far or near; it can mount up to the heights of heaven; it can dive into the depths of the earth. Men being impeded by matter and form, can not conceive how spirit can associate with spirit; amongst these latter, connections and separations are of a nature not to be fathomed by human thought; but when men do not foster their mental energies, their spirits will not even be able fully to blend with their own bodies, but will be subverted and overturned, which is what is called in common discourse 失却魂魄 losing one's senses. Sometimes also the spirit does not retain its seat, as in the case of one foolish, drunk, or dreaming; and how can one expect with this human spirit thus diminished, to hold intercourse with the spirits of heaven, and earth, and all things?

The spirit of Chau Kung could cause great storms of thunder and lightning in the skies: the spirit of Káu-tsung could hold intercourse with the 帝 Supreme, so as to obtain a minister from 傅嚴 Fú-yen: the sincerity of these was all-penetrating, because their spirits were thus. We may carry out the same idea to 'Tsang-tsz,' who when his mother bit her finger, felt in his 神心 mind a sympathy, and when his father became sick, felt his heart affected; all which is to be ascribed to the penetrations of spirits, which are not in the slightest degree impeded by the distance to which bodies are removed from each other. Thus it is that the spirit of the sages can influence all men and things under heaven, and extend even to future generations; his heart being correct, and his 氣 energies abundant, his spirit can expand and influence a myriad ages, without being limited to a single time and place. Therefore when the work of nourishing the spirit is carried out to perfection, most assuredly all the 神靈 spiritual intelligences in heaven and earth, whether in ancient or modern times, will be accumulated in the spirit of my person; and the spirit of my mind will be able to comprehend the success or failure of former or later affairs and things throughout the whole world; which state of mind is what is commonly called that of an 仙 immortal. How can there be anything more wonderful than this?

The results of nourishing our spirits are, that we regain our original perfect nature, and that which was decreed by Heaven to bestow, we make our own; it is no longer necessary to talk of a renewed cultivation of such virtuous nature, for such virtuous nature is already firmly established. This is the way in which L'au-tsz' adopted the method of nourishing the spirit, to cause men to revert to their originally virtuous nature, and connect themselves with that which Heaven had decreed to bestow, without men's being themselves aware of it. Some people ask how it is, that when the affairs of human life are so multifarious and ever-changing, we can ever succeed in nourishing our mental energies? not knowing that these affairs do not come of their own accord, but are constantly brought on by men themselves. Should there be any matters that come upon us without our intervention, we should just treat them in a natural and unconstrained manner, without attempting to force them. When in trouble we should go through our troubles, and when in poverty we should bear our poverty, leaving the matter of life and death to the disposal of Providence, and not allowing our minds to be moved by anything that respects life or death. When such things are incapable of annoying and moving our hearts, how can they annoy the spirit of our minds. Mencius said, "A man of resolution does not disturb himself about being buried in a ditch, and a brave man cares not if he lose his head." When we can compose our minds in the most distressed and trying circumstances and affairs, we shall be able to go through the dangerous passes of life as if they were an even path. It is only because men in the present life are desirous of contending with their circumstances; when poor, they are not content to remain poor, but adopt schemes for seeking after riches; when low they are not content to continue low, but speculate in search of honors. Moreover, when they are rich, they aim to become more rich; and when noble, they aspire to be more noble; and thus meet with all sorts of annoyances and disappointments, the whole of which they bring upon themselves.

If now, we could but leave all these matters alone, and when poverty comes, let it come; when degradation assails, let it assail; being content under every circumstance, what would then prevent us from nourishing the spirit of our minds. But we have not been able thus to nourish our spirits; could we really succeed in so doing, then we should find no difficulty in discerning every matter in the world, in whatever direction the 神光 light of our minds might be brought to shine. Water may dash down a steep place, without having any intention of so doing, and the white clouds may gather a round the sum-

mit of a hill without designing so to do : in like manner we may keep our minds in perfect stillness, although daily engaged in the arena of public strife. In this way the three religions [of China] may be united in one, by merely cultivating stillness, and then 神可養 our spirits may be nourished, our virtuous natures regained, and we unite in virtue with heaven and earth. Some men object and say, it is easy to talk about being still, but it is difficult to accomplish it, not knowing that the fault lies in men's unwillingness to remain still.

Note. As Dr. Medhurst calls on us in the introduction to the preceding translation to explain our remarks on page 95, we can not well decline to do so. In replying to his letter, we shall endeavor to confine our observations to the subjects he has touched upon, without entering upon the general argument involved in them, of which our readers have already the leading features. We are not quite sure, however, that we have done the Doctor much of a kindness in publishing his prefatory letter.

Dr. Medhurst seems to know whether the Editor is the author of articles in the Repository destitute of any signature; and rather smiles at the nameless heroes who have come into the arena of conflict with their visors down, and cyphers for their crests. But as this is a general and allowed usage, we are not careful to inquire who are the authors of all the articles sent us, for we are willing to let every one speak, who does so in proper terms. A fair inference is that Dr. Medhurst himself is the writer of articles which he knows so well are not editorial, though without any signature; and we hold that if he is not, it is rather impertinent for him to make the assertion which he has in his letter, and he can choose between a breach of good manners, or writing *sub rosâ*. We do not suppose that any of the writers are unwilling to have him or any one else know their names; and we can not see how this knowledge would make the slightest difference with the force or justness of their arguments. Although we have before been charged with a want of impartiality in this controversy, we have not deemed the assertion worthy of notice, for the simple reason that we have, with one trifling exception, inserted everything on both sides sent us upon this topic, deeming this to be as impartial as was expected. Was it a breach of impartiality to insert the letter signed "A Brother Missionary," in Vol. XVII, page 356, just as it was sent, without note or comment? We think Dr. Medhurst's zeal in the discussion has rather obscured his ideas of the meaning of the word, if he calls our silence a breach of impartiality; and when as "senior wrangler," he took up the cudgels on behalf of those who use Shāngtí, and printed his Reply of several pages himself, "in order to secure its early appearance among his friends;" was it incumbent on us, because, as well as others of his friends, we received a copy, to fill our pages with it too, when moreover we were never requested to reprint it? It was no fault of our's if the July number of the Repository did not reach Shānghai till December; and we have nothing to do with his printing his Reply; but where is Dr. M.'s candor and courtesy in belaboring us as he does for saying nothing, when he never even refers to Bp. Boone's remarks in Vol. XVIII, p. 97, in explanation of this very article signed A Brother Missionary, which was written and sent us for insertion just as soon as he heard those Questions had given umbrage? Would not that explanation travel as far as the original article, and was it not enough to satisfy any reasonable man of its intent? We think it enough to state these facts of the case. His Reply contained no new facts upon the discussion, which made it worth reprinting, it was written with some asperity, and as it was widely scattered, we supposed every one in China interested in it would see quite enough of it without having it over again in the Repository. Our readers would not thank us for reprinting all which proceeds from Dr. Medhurst's pen and press, merely because he sends us a copy. More of our pages have already been occupied with the views he advocates on this question, than with their opposites: there having been 313 pages of the last six volumes taken up with the former, and 215

pages with the latter, besides some thirty or forty pages more of a general nature, not exactly on either side. Dr. Medhurst has printed nothing on the opposite side of the question to that which he takes, while his own writings on this subject not inserted in the Repository, and those of Dr. Legge on the same side, exceed 550 octavo pages. It is not for want of industry, therefore, on the part of these brethren that we have not been convinced that *Shangti* is the word by which to render *Theos*; but we are quite willing to leave the charge of editorial unfairness to the decision of our readers.

If, however, we are so summarily accused, convicted, and condemned by the worthy Doctor for saying nothing, we hardly know what he would have done to us, if we had expressed our honest convictions upon Dr. Boone's Few Plain Questions. We have now no doubt that, for years we were unwittingly upholding idolatry in the minds of such Chinese as heard our explanations of the New Testament by using the title *Shángtí* for God *proprié*, and that they confounded the God over all, blessed for ever, whom we referred to, with their idols of that name. And even Chinese well instructed in truth make the same confusion. In a small volume of hymns, printed at Malacca and also at Hongkong, at the L. M. Society's press, entitled *Yáng-sin-shin Shí* 養心神

詩 (which we shall be accused of unfairness and ignorance, if we do not now translate Hymns for Fostering the Spirit of the Mind, as it bears the same title as the preceding tract, though we suppose the author meant Divine Hymns for Nourishing the Heart), are many terms for the Almighty. In the first line it is said, "*Shin* is an almighty, eternal, living *ling*;" then in another place, "*Shin-tien* is three persons and one body;" then, "*Shángtí* is omniscient;" and in a fourth verse,

"How did they know that *Yuh-tí* from his seat in heaven,
Would laugh at their foolish plans and schemes?"

No one can doubt that by *Yuh-tí*, or Gemmed Emperor, every Chinese refers to the idol called *Yuh hwáng Shángtí*, and the author of these hymns must be supposed to have known the same, and also that no one was likely to mistake *Shin* in the first line for spirit. Really, we should like to know what form of phraseology, a Chinese should adopt to express his idea that *shin* meant God or god, supposing Dr. Medhurst was willing to allow that any individual Chinese really believed such a meaning to attach to it, as we suppose the writer of this hymn book did. The confusion is almost inevitable in the mind of a Chinese. Does not every native who passes by Union Chapel in Hongkong, for instance, get a more correct idea, vague though it may be, of the Divinity worshipped there by seeing the words *Chín Shin táng* 真神堂 over the door, than if the chapel should be called *Shángtí táng*? Would Dr. Medhurst venture to put up the sign 上帝廟 over a Christian temple?

In entering a protest against Messrs. Medhurst, Stronach and Milne, publicly stigmatizing a version with *shin* in it used for *theos*, as unclassical and contemptible, we wished in the first place to put in a caveat against the use of hard words. On page 460 of Vol. XVII, Dr. Medhurst properly says, "they do not serve the interests of truth, and are not likely to carry conviction with them." We doubt if he could find a harsher word than *contemptible* with which to blackball a version he disapproved of. In whose eyes would it be contemptible? If in the eyes of himself and his coadjutors, then they have been for the last ten or fifteen years circulating a contemptible version, for the present one, chiefly revised by Dr. Medhurst himself, contains the term *Shin* used in hundreds of cases for God by way of eminence. Dr. Morrison also issued a contemptible version, and both of them we hope have been blessed to the conversion of souls; thousands of contemptible tracts have moreover been circulated, productive it is to be hoped of no small amount of good. In the second place, we think that these brethren lower themselves by applying such epithets to any version of the Word of God; and though they may not thank us for being more careful of their own reputation than they are themselves; yet we can but ammadvert on the use of such epithets.

That a version with the word *shin* used for *gods* would be, as Dr. M. and his coadjutors assert, *unclassical*, depends upon the literary taste of a people. They, as well as the rest of the Committee of Delegates and all persons interested in the revision, no doubt wish to make the Bible as much a classic in Chinese as it is in English, and as much as a translation can be in any language; but the use or misuse of one word can not stamp it as unclassical, especially when that word itself has a great diversity of meanings. Dr. Medhurst has here given the translation of a piece in which *shin* is no doubt used for *spirit*, but this surely does not prove that it is never used for anything else, much less that it would be unclassical to use it for *god*,* or for the highest object of worship. *Shin* probably never was used for God *proprie* by any Chinese writer, for the people of this empire are yet ignorant of Him; but, just as surely as we who use the word *god* in English apply it correctly as the common term for all objects of worship among heathen nations, as can be abundantly shown from the English Bible, so is the term *shin* used for objects of worship in Chinese from Shangti down to the lowest. We will make a few quotations to show this from a living writer, who is quite as well acquainted with his own language as the author of the tract introduced above.

In a Geography lately published, speaking of the Persians, he says, "As the source of life they carefully respect and sacrifice to the sun as (*ho shin*) the god of Fire." Also, speaking of ruins at Ormuz, "There is an old temple there where the sun, the god of Fire, was honored." And again, "The Africans worship trees, birds, and beasts as gods (*shin*), and whoever kills an enemy offers him in sacrifice to them The people of Guinea also worship birds and beasts as (*shin*) gods." Now *shin* is rightly translated *gods* in these extracts, or else the author did not know how to use his own language, or else objects of worship are not properly called *gods* in English, as in Isaiah xlv. It is impertinent to our common sense and usages of speech as Englishmen to tell us the latter; and if the governor of Fuhkien means anything else than god or gods by the word *shin* in these places, he is still alive, and his ideas can be ascertained. The Persians had but one object of worship, was it not a *god*? The Africans had many, were they not *gods*? What spirit or spiritual essence did His Excellency suppose existed in trees, birds, and beasts, when he called them *shin*? We allow *shin* means spirit in some places, but if Dr. Medhurst will permit us to apply his own quotation, "There are writings in Chinese in which *shin* is so employed up and down, that a man must be a fool to suppose that it means anything else than god." We also introduce another extract from the same work which we think "fortifies" this application of *shin* to *god*; but previously beg to call Dr. Medhurst's attention to the meaning given to the words *tien shin* in his translation of K'anghi's Dictionary,—"the celestial gods who draw forth or develop all things."

"In ancient times, the Indians and Persians all served (*sz'*) the god of Fire; in Judea and west of it all served (*tien shin*) the God of Heaven. Those who served the god of Fire worshipped the rising sun, with burning faggots turned towards it, and bowing down. The people [believed] that without the influence of fire they would die, and that if there was no sunlight, the whole world could not see; therefore the people of these two countries from of old had this custom, considering that in so doing they required their origin, and that this was not a (*si' shin*) false god. The worship of the God of Heaven (*tien shin*) began with Moses, about the rise of the Sh'ang dynasty in the reign of Wuhting. According to his words, the God of Heaven descended upon Mt. Sinai (in Arabia), delivering ten laws to instruct mankind; the observance of a seventh day of rest began at this time. Jesus was born a thousand and several hundred years after this. The (*tien-chú kiáu*) religion of the Lord of Heaven originated at this time, but it was not that we now call the Tienchú kiáu (or Romish religion).

"The sect of Fuh sprang from India, thus altering the custom of worshipping fire; but the custom of worshipping fire is still maintained in two countries in the west, Kondooz

* Not *God* *proprie* as Dr. M. incorrectly writes above; for the word *god* and *God* differ in English as much as *man* and *Man* (i. e. Mr. Man) do. The absence of a capital letter is a hindrance to the easy understanding of many words in Chinese, but Dr. Medhurst must know that by leaving a blank space before the character *shin* when used for *God* and none when used for *god*, the phrases "My God, my God," "the God of Abraham," "the gods of the nations," &c. will to an attentive reader of the Bible be far more intelligible than he represents them as likely to be.

and Bombay in Southern India, which thus give us very clear evidence of the fact. Persia had not yet changed this custom before the Tang dynasty, but after that she was overrun by the Mohammedans, she first adhered to their religion, and to this day observes it; yet some also worship the god of Fire, and it is for this purpose, that there is an old temple at Ormuz to the sun as the god of Fire.

"In China, before the Five dynasties (A.D. 907-959), there was a temple to the (*tien shin*) God of Heaven, one to the (*hü tien*) foreign Heaven, and one to the fiery Heaven. In the time of Tang, there were Persian religious books; and in the 4th year of Tienpau, it was ordered by government that the Persian monasteries or churches in both capitals should be changed to the (*Tä-tsin sz'*) Judean monastery. There was also a Tablet [commemorating] the diffusion of the illustrious religion of Judea in China, set up in the 2d year of Kienchung (A.D. 781), of which the priest King Tsing of the Judean church wrote. His doctrine arose in Fuhlin,* which was on the eastern borders of Tä-tsin.† That which we call (*hü tien*) foreign Heaven is (*shin tien*) the God of Heaven, and seems to belong to Tä-tsin; ‡ and to foreshadow or refer to the religion of Jesus.

"If the religion of the god of Fire began from Persia, then it had nothing to do with that of Judea, but is what is called (*ho tien*) heaven of Fire. To mix up the god of Fire with the God of Heaven is to say that the Persian faith proceeded from Judea, which is as absurd as to say that my family ancestor belonged to a family of another surname. The tablet about the 'Illustrious religion' is still more absurd, for this is the fire worshiper's doctrine; in the tablet it is said, 'A bright star proclaimed the happy event; he suspended the bright sun to break open the abodes of darkness; at midday he ascended in truth;' &c., all which point to the sun's fire. The expressions, 'Determining in the form of the cross to establish the four quarters of the earth, and once in seven days there is divine service,' show that it is connected with the *tien-chü kiäu* or Romish religion. Who is referred to in the expression, 'the mysterious Three-one, the true, eternal Lord Aloah,' we do not know. The whole of the composition, however, partly resembles the vagaries of Budha, but if it is not of the Persians, or the Romanists, or the Buddhists, we do not know of what doctrine to call it, for the worship of the god of Fire among the Persians is an old custom, while the Buddhist doctrine was promulgated in India, the next country on the east, and that of the God of Heaven came from Judea, adjoining it on the west. Since the days of the Tang dynasty, the doctrine of the Romanists has greatly extended and flourished, and the clever foreign priest King Tsing combined the tenets of the three religions, and formed one which he called the *king kiäu*, or Illustrious religion, by which he made himself exceedingly famous. The Chinese did not know this origin of it, but respected and believed it just as he told them, in this showing how just the observation of Chang Li is, 'You wish for and hearken to whatever is strange.'

"It is further said in the Tablet, 'In the 12th year of Chingkwán (A.D. 639), Olopun, a man of great virtue from the kingdom of Judea, bringing the Scriptures and images from afar has come and presented them at our capital.' This Olopun being from Judea, he was of the Romish religion without doubt, and these scriptures were the sacred books and gospels which have come to us from Europe, and the images were those of Jesus on the cross, though at that time we do not hear of them as like this. As to what is said of the Illustrious religion, that it was chiefly imitated from the tenets of the Persians, and the external adornments and rites were gathered from the observances of Buddhists, I can not fully explain it; but since the days of Tang, while the doctrines of Budha have extended and flourished, the temples of the god of Fire and foreign God, and the Persian and Judean faiths, have not again been seen. According to western writers, the Judean faith still exists in Abyssinia in Africa, and is the same as the fire worship of the Persians."

Not to extend these remarks too far, we may observe that these quotations, and others which might be added, show that Shàngti is not regarded as a generic name proper to apply to the gods of foreign countries, but that where the writer is ignorant of the title of a divinity, he uses *shin* to show that it is worshiped as a god. Where the author of this work obtained the preceding account he does not tell us, but we think it shows that to use *shin* will be neither unclassical nor contemptible, for his testimony of the use of the words *tien-shin*, when taken in connection with the power ascribed to *tien-shin* in Kánghí, is authority enough for the use of *shin* for God and god in the S. S.

* This country (Philistine) is Judea, which was first established by Moses, of whom Jesus was a descendant

† Tä-tsin is the country of Rome in Italy; the men of the Han dynasty seeing that the people were tall and powerful, like the Chinese, called it Tä-tsin, but this name is unknown to the people themselves.

‡ Fuhlin was governed by Rome from the Han dynasty, but in the days of Tang, it was seized by the Arabians.

We are willing to rest the philological evidence of *shin* for *god* upon this work, while too we admit that it has much wider significations in Chinese than *god* has in English; and the reason appears to us plain why it is so much applied to spirits, viz., because of the greater importance paid by the Chinese to the worship of ancestral manes than was ever the case in other heathen lands. The wide diffusion of the Scriptures will tend to restrict its modern usage to one being, and remove the plural ideas so intimately connected with it in the minds of this people; this idea of plurality is one of the objections we referred to on page 96, and its variety of meanings is another; but they together have not half the weight of the objection that Shángtí is the title of several idols, and will be and is so often confounded with them if used for God.

It is difficult to reason upon this subject with a man like Dr. Medhurst. At one time he translates *shin* as *god, gods*; then says it means *spirit, sages, fairies*, and can never be rendered *god*:—he first says Shángtí is not the proper name of an idol, but denotes the Supreme Being; and presently explains that this Supreme Being is not the true God, but comes as near to him as the Chinese know; and lastly declares that it is a generic term for *god*, because it applies equally to six Shángtí:—he at one time upholds the use of Shángtí for the true God and *shin* for false gods, and then maintains that the former is the only term by which to render *Elohim* and *Theos*, fortifying both these positions against all attack; but soon after dismantles his fortifications, and runs up a third for *Tienti* out of their ruins; which again he abandons to find refuge in the transferred term *Aloah*, declaring each of these positions one after the other to be impregnable, and yet giving no explanation for leaving them so rapidly, but on the contrary rather displeased when his old artillery is brought to bear on his new fortifications:—and finally, after declaring that he would not use *shin* for *spirit* in the new version, if others felt it their duty to use it for *god*, he now capitalizes his declaration, “That upon *shin*, and *shin* alone, do we feel ourselves compelled to fall back, as the only legitimate and suitable representation of *ruach* and *pneuma* in the sense of spirit and spiritual being,” thus involving the versions of the Scriptures in the most unhappy confusion. He now re-asserts in the strongest manner that to use *shin* for *god* and *God* in the Bible would render the Chinese version unclassical and contemptible, though our readers will conclude, we think, that one who has come to so many different decisions, has little right to expect us to regard his assertions to this effect. If the matter was a trifling one, this philological versatility would be less disastrous, but we earnestly beg Dr. M. to reflect upon the consequences of carrying out this last determination. We are pleased to see that Dr. Legge has adverted to the melancholy results of the double use of *shin* for God and Spirit in two versions otherwise the same. In conclusion, we beg Dr. Medhurst to revise his opinions on all these points. He says a majority of those who assembled at Hongkong in 1843 were in favor of Shángtí, but they had not then examined the subject; and as the large majority of them are now in favor of *Shin*, it should lead him to doubt the tenableness of his own position, for he can hardly think that their conversion has been altogether for the sake of arguing the matter against him.

ART. III. *Journal of Occurrences: endeavor to prevent foreigners from living in Fuhchau; disturbances in Kwángsi; North-China Herald; port of Shánghái; fall of roof of Trinity Church; accident at Tsz'ki; bridge of Boats at Ningpo; completion of the revision of the New Testament.*

THE citizens of Fuhchau have lately shown considerable hostility to the residence of foreigners within their city-walls, quoting the proceedings of the people of Canton in justification of their course, and their authorities sheltering them

selves under the example of Governor Sū, for their tacit compliance. No foreigners have heretofore had a residence within the precincts of the walls, except those connected with or residing at the English Consulate, the others all taking their houses in the suburbs. Some two or three months ago, the Rev. Messrs. Welton and Jackson made an effort to locate themselves within the walls by leasing some tenements connected with the Shin-kwáng sz', or Divine-Light monastery, situated east of the Wū-shih shán, or Black-rock hill on which H. B. M.'s Consulate is located. The priests were willing to rent these houses, the price and other points were agreed on, and these gentlemen had taken possession, when the people assembled with the evident purpose of forcing them to remove, but no damage was done to life. The people were, it is supposed, urged on by the literati, and there is some reason to believe that they were countenanced and directed in their schemes by Lin Tsehsü, the late governor-general of Yunnan and Kweichau, now residing at Fuhchau for the benefit of his health. Soon after the first expression of popular discontent, a Notice of a few pages appeared, which though drawn up in respectful terms, was determined in its tone; and was generally regarded as having been issued with Lin's approval, if not written by him. The paper is called, "A Notice to the scholars and people within and without the city for a public consultation to expel the *fin tsí*, or foreigners;" but the inner heading is, "A public letter from the scholars and people of Fuhchan to the English foreign officer," i. e. H. E. Gov. Bouham; the reason for this discrepancy does not appear. By the kindness of Rev. Mr. Peet, we have been furnished with a copy of the tract, and give a translation of it entire.

A Public Notice. Having lately heard that your honorable consul had rented the Shin-kwáng monastery for the missionaries (*kiáng-king min-jin*, people expounding the sacred books), and that the lease had received the seal of the district magistrate, and that they were about to move in to reside, the scholars and people of this city were all much surprised at it, and immediately repaired to the magistracy to present a petition. In accordance with its request, we now hear that the magistrate has consulted with your honorable consul, and [requesting] that the lease be immediately revoked, to the end that there be mutual harmony. Should the missionaries of your country still desire to move in at any rate, there will then be dissatisfaction in men's minds. If we consider these three points—the feelings of the people, the reason of the thing, and the consequences of forcing it, they all forbid it; and the united will of myriads of people clearly exhort him (Gov. B.?) who manages affairs to stop.

The residence of your country's merchants at Fuhchau for trade, should be, according to the Treaty of peace, only at the mouth of the river; and at the time the consular officers came within the walls, and took a residence at the Tsih-tsui monastery on the Black-stone hill, we, the gentry and people of the place were not at all pleased at it; but because of the repeated intreaties of the officers, who declared it was only a temporary matter, we treated them kindly at the time, and looked forward to a future adjustment, unwilling to act as the Cantonese did, and oppose force to them. In all our bearing towards your country, we have ever been liberal.

If those who reside at the Tsih-tsui monastery are officers of your country, it may be allowed; but what will be the result if missionaries also rent residences within the walls? This does not at all correspond with the Treaty. The people residing within the gates formerly assented to it as a matter of favor; and now having got one thing, you think about asking for two,—which shows that you not only have not had a due sense of our liberality, but that you presume upon it to insult us. Are not the tens of thousands in this city as able to quit themselves like men as those of Canton? Do not arouse us, and peace will still exist; but egg us on, and it is to be feared the wrath of the populace will not soon be appeased. These remarks show how the first proposition—the feelings of the people forbids it.

The original treaty says (Treaty of Wángliá, ART. XVII.), "When persons from any country wish to rent land the local authorities of the two governments shall examine with a due regard to the feelings of the people, and settle the matter in an equitable manner, the proprietors on the one hand not demanding

an exorbitant price, nor the foreigners on the other unreasonably insisting to rent, but both must conduct with consideration and moderation." Now the Shin-kwáng monastery is the place where the graduates and students of this region continually meet to study and pass their examinations, and the people and literati are alike unwilling to lease it. You have therefore inconsiderately gone contrary to the Treaty, and committed the offense of taking forcible possession. The priest was only employed to attend to burning incense and candles, but he could not act as a landlord to rent the place. And though the district magistrate has already used his seal of office, and thus settled the contract, still he should have a regard to the popular feelings. In this district, the seal of the magistrate is daily used to certify papers relating to the revenue, and to suits which come up for decision, thousands of times, and it is impossible to wait for the magistrate to decide upon and point out each paper to be sealed. In the case of getting this lease stamped, it was evidently done by the local interpreter in the court; for when your honorable consul sent it in, there was not the least delay so that the magistrate might be informed of it, but the seal was first stamped on, and then it was carried in for his inspection. Having subsequently received the public petition of the gentry, and apprehensive lest the affair might grow to something serious, he confessed his indiscreet haste before the assembly, and requested to be allowed to immediately rectify his error, and attend to the removal [of the tenants]. Thus the magistrate having spoken according to right reason, your excellency ought also to act thereto, and restore things as at first. Further, you have usually paid great regard to truth and equity. If now, for the trifling matter of renting a house, you take what this treaty of peace, originally framed to last for ages, says, 'The feelings of the parties shall be regarded, and [the foreigners shall not] unreasonably insist on renting,' and of your own will violently set it aside, where will be the truth and justice of such conduct? This shows how the second proposition—the reason of the thing, forbids it.

Though the Tsh-tsun monastery, standing as it does high on a hill, in a thick grove of trees, can still be defended and protected, even if vagabonds come and make trouble, yet the Shin-kwáng monastery is lower down the hill, close to a thoroughfare, where fellows of the baser sort are very numerous, and its fallen wall offers a road, so that thieves can go in and out there from their lurking-places. Further, the men of your country wish to expound their sacred books there, and they will of course call people in to see and hear, whereby these miscreants will come together still more, and no one can tell what may arise at any moment.* If from doing this, it should happen that property be stolen or people wounded, neither scholars nor people would stir a step to rescue them, because of the dislike felt against them, and the magistrates show no alacrity to arrive in time to help them. If they should then lay their complaints before the rulers, the offenders would certainly escape not to be retaken, and the property irrecoverably lost. Truly their regrets would then be useless. These remarks show how the third proposition—the consequences of forcing it, forbids it.

The right and wrong, the benefits and disadvantages, of these three propositions can be easily seen and understood; and also that they are not the empty words of the scholars and people of this place used to intimidate and prevent [from renting the place]. Soon after the missionaries first came, they engaged an officer (who is appointed to look after foreigners) to seek out a convenient and safe residence for them, either in or out of the walls was immaterial, and their own desire at first was not to rent this monastery. There are many temples and dwellings outside of the walls far more desirable than this, and the

* The Black-rock hill is situated in the southwest corner of the city, and includes several acres on a side hill, with two or three buildings, the principal one of which has been converted into a residence for the English Consul, and the others are appropriated to the use of the Consulate. The Shin-kwáng monastery lies east on the same side hill, separated from the Consulate a few hundred yards, the intermediate space being occupied by other public buildings and a few private residences. Its grounds are less spacious than the other, and its location not so convenient for a private residence. Only a portion on the rear and a part of the main building has been rented for Mr. Welton. The interpreter (now acting consul) rented the place from the priests, and thus H. M. Government has become interested in it.

officers will look out one for them; why then wish so unreasonably to rent this particular one, whereby the citizens are all disturbed in this way? We infer that as your honorable consul has been in China a long time, he is well acquainted with affairs; and we therefore make these remarks upon the propriety and equity of the question, fully disclosing our thoughts and views, and hoping that he will take proper measures for the just decision of the case, so that all can enjoy the blessings of peace, and both be greatly rejoiced. A public declaration. This paper is given to Hing, the district magistrate of Haukwán that it may be forwarded to the English officer.

This document has been forwarded to Gov. Bonham, and the citizens are willing to wait for his reply to their statement. It is noticeable, that the view here taken of the meaning of that part of the Treaty which speaks of the residence of foreign merchants being at the *kiáng-kau*, or mouth of the river, the mart where trade is carried on, is the same as that given by us last year, when discussing the question of entering the city of Canton (see Vol. XVIII, p. 276), and we have no doubt that the citizens of Fuhchau are philologically in the right in their interpretation. The *kiáng-kau* and the *ching*—the mart and the city—are there three miles asunder, and the difference between the signification of the two terms is plain; consequently H. E. Gov. Bonham will need to show from some other documents than the Treaties with foreign countries that foreigners plainly have the *right* to live within the walls of Fuhchau. The fact of the Consulate lying within the walls is, however, a good precedent to urge for Messrs. Welton and Jackson to be allowed quietly to remain, and by kindness and decision on the part of the English authorities we think the point will be carried.

The governor-general of Fuhkien, Liú Yunko, was not in Fuhchau at the time of the fracas when the populace endeavored to drive the tenants from their residence. The literati, as at Canton, have been the chief movers in the attempt, and the body of the people have not sympathized in their desire to expel the foreigners so much as to make it unsafe to remain in the monastery. The influence of Lin is probably one moving cause of the affair, but it is not unlikely things will soon return to their former course, and Mr. Welton be allowed to open his hospital.

Disturbances in Kwángsi have lately risen to such a height, and the insurgents have become so numerous and so well organized as seriously to alarm the authorities of Canton. The governor-general is the only one of the rulers here who can officially notice them, and it is reported that he is not at all inclined to proceed to the scene of trouble, and the troops under his command are still more unwilling to leave their garrisons and face their refractory countrymen. What particular grievances have aroused the people of Kwángsi to take up arms, we can not clearly ascertain, nor who are their leaders, though we have little doubt that more are induced to join the original movers from hope of plunder or expectation of bettering their position, than from any well concerted plan of asserting acknowledged rights. Rumor states that a body of fifty thousand has laid siege to the large town of Wú-chau fú on the borders of this province, and put an embargo on all trade on the West river on which it is situated. It shows how little sympathy exists between the various parts of this large empire, and how little information transpires of what is going on elsewhere in it, when we state that one of the most tangible consequences in Canton of a secession involving the peace of a neighboring province containing nearly ten millions of people, is the rise in the price of cassia of six or eight dollars per pecul, and the collection of a large fleet of boats, whose crews are afraid to proceed westward.

"*The North-China Herald*" is the name of a new weekly paper commenced on the 3d inst, at Shánghái, Mr. Henry Shearman, publisher and proprietor. This new sheet has started into life a full grown newspaper—advertisements, occurrences, editorials, and all, as if it had emerged out of a box of types all

ready to hand. Its typographical appearance is creditable, and we have no doubt the foreign community at Shānghai will support the efforts of the editor to make known the capabilities of that port and region. We quote what he says on the port of Shānghai :—

Shānghai is most admirably chosen as the principal seat of commerce for the North, the West, and the whole interior of the empire; the Yāng-tsz' kiāng, the noblest river of the world, which traverses the centre of the kingdom (intersecting three of its largest provinces) and which communicates with that other splendid river the Hwang ho (Yellow river) by means of the Grand Canal is the main river into which the Shanghai river falls; one tide brings ships of the largest burden from the ocean into harbor, and above thirty sail of European ships sometimes ride at anchor before this new and important mart, the centre of civilization of the Middle Kingdom, and the only seat of perfectly free commerce with other nations.

Shānghai, by its excellent central position, as regards the coast line, must by its connection with all the principal watercourses of the country command its inland trade throughout the length and breadth of the land; it is therefore most desirable that the British Government should exert her influence at the Court of Peking, to extend the facilities of trade with the interior—to do away with the pernicious interference of local authorities, and to establish our commercial relations on such a firm basis, that the enterprise and integrity of British and foreign merchants may have a fair and open field for their exertions, and become the promise of a far wider spread of civilization—refinement, science, arts and true religion, than has ever yet obtained in China since it became an empire.

It is evident, that our merchants require greater opportunities to carry out their speculations. They require access to the first markets; the vast plains watered by the two great rivers of China, and their numerous tributaries offer ready communication with every province, and once our merchants can obtain secure footing upon their great trunk lines of inland trade; we shall obtain ample scope for the pent up energies of our capitalists, and place them in such a position, as must yield vast sources of wealth to all who embark with well considered zeal upon the new routes laid open to them.

Some may be disposed to inquire how the “influence of the British government at the court of Peking” is wanted “to do away with the pernicious interference of local authorities” at the “only seat in China of perfectly free commerce with other nations,” but we let this incongruity pass, to remark that there is a tone running through the two leaders of the Herald which we do not think pleasing. Previous authors on China, we are told, have “obstructed the path leading to an accurate knowledge of China and the Chinese,” and expectation is thus raised to see how far the editor will remove the “malignant inventions” of one, and correct the “ill-digested statements” of another. He is rather free, too, with accusations against the Chinese government, which is charged “with the gravest criminality in daily and hourly violating the letter and spirit of the main provisions of our treaty with them, even to the utter extinction of all hopes of the further extension of the recognized import trade of Great Britain.” We think the opium trade and its results should have been brought to mind before writing this and a few like passages, and then the expectations held out as likely to result to China from foreign merchants having “access to first markets,” and carrying their goods everywhere throughout its provinces would have been moderated. Commerce alone is too selfish ever to carry many benefits in its train, and the people of this land think they have already suffered much from foreign traders, and may yet suffer more. We commend the enterprise exhibited in publishing the Herald, and hope it may fulfill all the promises made in its Address. We introduce two or three extracts from the number before us.

Port of Shānghai. It is every way important for the best interests of Shānghai, that an early effort should be made to redeem the reputation of the port from the alleged difficulty of its approach, seaward. We hope some of our nautical readers will favor us with a note of the requirements necessary to render the Yāngtsz' kiāng navigable to Wusung with safety, from going on shore. But for the apprehensions entertained of our river, it is nearly certain that we should have many of the American whalers, which navigate the contiguous seas paying us a visit for supplies. And now that the navigation laws are abolished, it would seem a more economical mode to re-ship the oil here to Europe or America, and then return to their cruising grounds; the principal

one, viz., the Japan sea, being in our immediate vicinage. It is estimated that the American whaling fleet numbers some 500 ships, mainly engaged in "pursuing their gigantic game" in the North Pacific Ocean. More recently we find them among the trembling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating the deepest frozen recesses of Behring's Straits, going as high as 70 North latitude. Still it is believed, that within two weeks' sail from this port, there now from 150 to 200 whalers pursuing their hardy industry, and under favorable circumstances, a ship could, we are assured, be on her cruising ground in one week from leaving this Port. What whalers want is merely fresh meat and vegetables; both of which are here abundant and cheap, and would ere this have been availed of, but that strange navigators, generally, are afraid of the entrance to our river; and would avoid coming hither, if possible, on all occasions. At the present time any part of China would be preferred to going the other way to California or the Sandwich Islands; as the gold fever now raging leads to the immediate desertion of a large portion of the crews—to say nothing of the high pay still given at San Francisco for sailors. The *Science* recently arrived from San Francisco, paid \$150 per man for the run from thence to the Sandwich Islands, which occupied but 16 days. From thence seamen were to be had at \$40 per month.

Falling in of the roof of Trinity Church. The roof of this sacred edifice fell in with a great crash, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, about half past five A. M.; a great deal of rain had fallen throughout the preceding day (Sunday), much thunder and lightning accompanied it, and some of the claps were very heavy. The span of the roof was very wide between the walls, and it appears that a water spout had poured its stream just over the beam in the centre, and had so injured it and the surrounding brickwork, that the continued deluge of rain caused the walls to bulge out, and give way. It was most providential that it did not occur during Divine service on the preceding day, as the whole of the central roof fell in, and from the heavy construction of Chinese roofs generally, in all likelihood it fell instantly: the majority of the congregation occupied the centre of the church, and so heavy was the fall, that all the pews and seats beneath it were crushed to pieces. It is supposed that it will cost four thousand dollars to repair the damage done. Through the liberality of a resident a large upper room has been placed at the disposal of the Trustees, which has been fitted up temporarily for the performance of Divine service.

A Millionaire at Tsz'ki, (a city near Ningpo) who had become a sportsman, but who had not learnt the use of gunpowder, was about to amuse himself with his newly purchased fowling-piece, when his powder was ignited from the tobacco-pipe of his wife. The explosion (there were several pounds!) blew up himself, his wife, concubine and two female servants. One of the number died soon after, and of the rest none are likely to survive. Dr. Macgowan has spent several days with the family. About all such things the Chinese are proverbially careless.

On the 3d of last month, the celebrated Bridge of Boats at Ningpo gave way while a junk was going through the passage made for that purpose. A crowd of women and children were carried down the river several miles. A number of lives were lost, owing to the apathetic disposition of the spectators.

Revision of the S. S. The Committee of Delegates convened at Shānghái for the revision of the Chinese version of the New Testament completed their work on the 1st inst., and have offered it to their brethren engaged in Protestant missions among the Chinese, and to the Bible Societies in Europe and America. The words to represent God and Spirit, being still undecided, are left blank in the revision, and this we understand will delay the printing of the work a while, affording time for others to examine it, and forward such criticisms and suggestions for the consideration of the Committee at Shānghái as they shall deem proper. So far as we have examined the revised version, it is decidedly superior to former ones for clearness of style and close translation, and with a few corrections can safely be offered to the Chinese as a fair rendering of the New Testament. The members of the Committee on the N. T. have all been re-elected to serve with other delegates on the revision of the Old Testament, who now consist of the Rev. E. C. Bridgman, D.D. from Canton; Rev. James Legge, D.D. and Rev. T. Hanburg from Hongkong; Rev. John Stronach from Amoy; Rev. S. Johnson and Rev. M. C. White from Fuhchau; Rev. M. S. Culbertson from Ningpo; and Rt.-Rev. W. J. Boone, D.D., Rev. W. H. Medhurst, D.D., Rev. J. L. Shuck, and Rev. W. C. Milne from Shānghái. This Committee organised itself on the 1st inst., and held the first meeting for revision on the 3d, the delegates from Hongkong and Fuhchau not being present.



